OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES

THE

LITTLE

GUIDES

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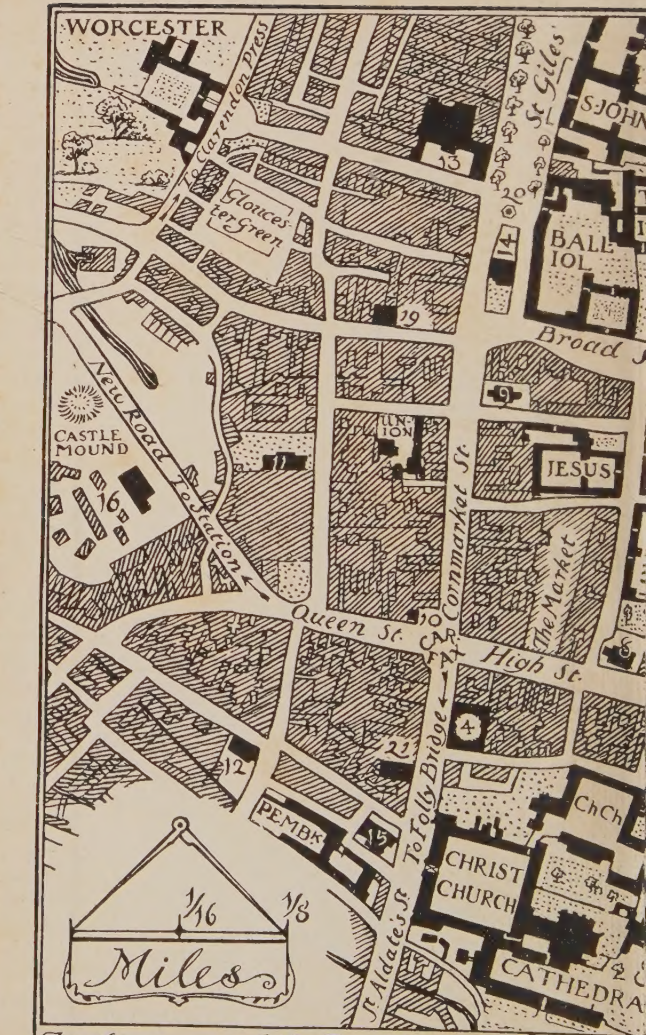

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Map of the Colleges & Churches of OXFORD

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OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES

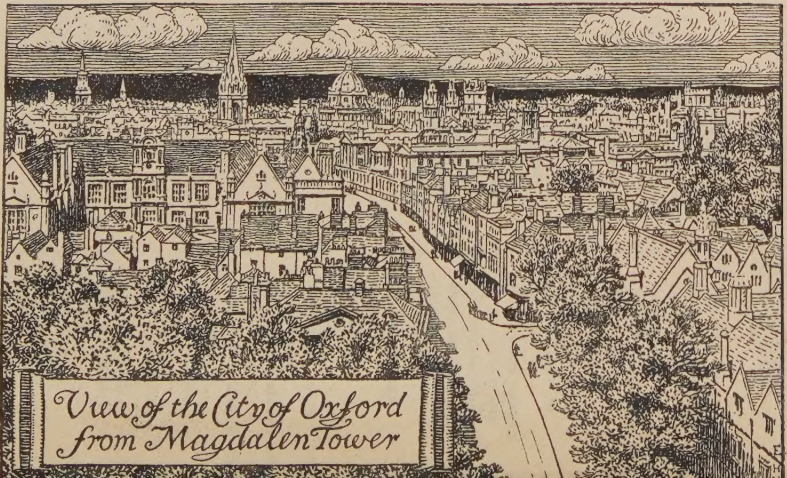
THE LITTLE GUIDES

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS COLLEGES
OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES
LONDON
YORK
ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
THE TEMPLE
GRAY'S INN AND LINCOLN'S INN
WESTMINSTER ABBEY
CATHEDRAL CITIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

THE ENGLISH LAKES
THE MALVERN COUNTRY
SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY
SNOWDONIA

BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE
BERKSHIRE
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
CAMBRIDGESHIRE
THE CHANNEL ISLANDS
CHESHIRE
CORNWALL
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND
DERBYSHIRE
DEVON
DORSET
DURHAM
ESSEX
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
HAMPSHIRE
HEREFORDSHIRE
HERTFORDSHIRE
THE ISLE OF WIGHT
THE ISLE OF MAN
KENT
LANCASHIRE
LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND
LINCOLNSHIRE
MIDDLESEX
MONMOUTHSHIRE
NORFOLK
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
NORTHUMBERLAND
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
OXFORDSHIRE
SHROPSHIRE
SOMERSET
STAFFORDSHIRE
SUFFOLK
SURREY
SUSSEX
THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
WARWICKSHIRE
WILTSHIRE
WORCESTERSHIRE

NORTH WALES
SOUTH WALES
KERRY
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
ROME
SICILY


View of the City of Oxford
from Magdalen Tower

OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES

By

J · WELLS · M.A., Hon. D.C.L.

Wadham College

With 27 Illustrations by

EDMVND · H · NEW

6 Plans and a Map

"And strange enchantments of the past
And memories of the days of old."

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PREFACE

"OXFORD and Oxford Life," which I edited in 1892 (Methuen & Co.), was an attempt to describe the University as it is; the present little book attempts to describe it as it has been, but with constant reference to the surviving memorials of the past. Though it is mainly a history, I trust that through the appendices and the index (in which I have mentioned all places of interest referred to), it may be useful as a guide book, especially as I have been careful to mark with an asterisk (*) all the Oxford worthies mentioned who are represented by portraits in the College Halls. I hope, too, that many Oxford men will care to hear the story of the foundations which they love. My obligations to the "Colleges of Oxford," edited by Rev. A. Clark (Methuen & Co., 1891), will be obvious to all, and I hasten to express them. I have to thank many friends for kind assistance in various chapters.

But I feel that the success of a book like this depends mainly on its illustrations, and I have every confidence that Mr New's drawings will meet the great success which they deserve.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD,
April 25, 1897.

PREFACE TO THE TWELFTH EDITION

EVER since "Oxford and Its Colleges" appeared, I have done my best to correct inaccuracies and, where space allowed, to supply deficiencies. I have to thank my reviewers for some suggestions, and friends both in Great Britain and in America for many more. The least that I could do, in return for the kindness with which this little book has been received, is to endeavour to keep it up to date.

In the sixth edition were added plans of certain colleges (by Mr B. C. Boulter), especially important or especially intricate in their buildings; a new appendix on "Excursions" to places within twenty miles of Oxford, was also added. In the seventh edition I inserted an appendix on the arms of the University and the Colleges. My only excuse for writing on a special subject of which I cannot profess a first-hand knowledge, is that it is impossible to find information as to the heraldry of Oxford in any book which is easily accessible; yet the arms themselves are most familiar, to all Oxford men and Oxford visitors, and they illustrate in many ways the history of the foundations to which they belong. I have also tried to correct the statements as to the Oxford pictures in the light of the new information (cf. especially Mrs Poole's Oxford Portraits, vol. i., 1912). A chapter is also added on the Women's Colleges, and a brief Appendix on War Memorials.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD,
June 1923.

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NOTE

The Artist wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Messrs Davis, Hills & Saunders, Soame, Valentine and Wilson, from whose photographs the drawings have, with the two exceptions noted, been made.

1

OXFORD

"ABOUT the year of our Lord, 727, lived in the city of Oxford a prince named Didan": so Antony Wood begins his charming story of St Frideswyde, the daughter of Didan. Her father built her a church, as the lady, with doubtful saintship, "utterly disliked the notion that she should, being a princess, be subject to her inferiors" (by taking the veil elsewhere). After this Frideswyde took the veil in her own nunnery, but she was not allowed to rest in peace, for, "being accounted the flower of all these parts," she was sought in marriage of Algar, King of Leicester. This "young and spritely prince" would not take a refusal, and even when his ambassadors were smitten with blindness for treacherously endeavouring to carry off the lady, he himself "breathing out fire and sword, intended for Oxen." Frideswyde took refuge in a shelter for swine among the woods at Bampton, but Algar still pursued her, till he, too, was smitten with blindness. She, however, did not return to Oxford for three years. When she returned at last, the citizens "lived,

if I might say, in a golden age, for no king or enemy durst approach Oxford." She died in 739, and was buried in her own church, of which a fragment may perhaps still be seen (*cf.* p. 20).

Of this story, mixed as it is with legend, much appears to be true, and round the shrine of St Frideswyde, grew up Oxford. It was a town of importance long before it was the home of a university, owing its prosperity to its position; for it lies, as its name implies, where "cattle drovers could cross the river and mount the low slope of a gravel spit" between the Thames and the Cherwell. The site was well protected by these rivers and the marshes round the city, and, at the same time, was important as commanding the break in the hills between the plain of Banbury and the plain of Didcot.

Apart from the story of St Frideswyde, the earliest mention of Oxford is in 912, when the great King Edward took, as the English Chronicle says, "Lundenbyrg and Oxnaford, and all the lands that were obedient thereto": this conjunction of Oxford with London shows its importance. From this period dates the great mound which lies on the right as the traveller comes from the station by the "New Road"; it is one of the early fortresses which the sister of King Edward, the "Lady of the Mercians," constructed to guard her territories, and may be compared to the similar mound at Warwick.

At the Conquest the town suffered severely, as is shown by the significant fact that, in Domesday, two-thirds of the houses are "waste" and

High St & Queen's Coll.

pay no taxes; and Robert d'Oilgi, whom William put in charge of the town, mightily oppressed Oxford; of the castle which he built the tower and the crypt of St George are still standing. But Robert repented of his injustice, and became a church builder instead of a castle builder: the tower of St Michael's Church in the Cornmarket—often called "Saxon" from its primitive character—and the chancel arch at Holywell may well be his work. The early part of St Peter in the East, sometimes put down to him, is twelfth century. Through all these changes the citizens of Oxford kept their common pasture, the Port Meadow, which still lies open as a (somewhat swampy) recreation ground to the north of the city. Robert also encouraged the development of Oxford by building the Hithe Bridge, the "landing place" for traffic, the name of which survives in the more northerly of the two roads from the station.

What brought students to this thriving mediæval town it is impossible to say, but that there were "schools" in Oxford as early as the first part of the twelfth century is certain. Perhaps they were attracted there in part by the palace of the scholar king, Henry I. (Beauclerc), which lay to the north-east of Worcester College, pretty much where Beaumont Street has revived the name of the old royal residence. At any rate, Theobald of Etampes, before 1120, had under him "60 or 100 clerks, more or less," and maintained a vigorous quarrel with the monks; he calls a monastery

"a prison of the damned, who have condemned themselves to escape eternal damnation." Thus early were Oxford scholars on the side of the secular against the monastic clergy. No doubt the students became more numerous when peace was restored at the end of the stormy reign of Stephen; Oxford had been besieged by that king, and Maud, the Empress Queen, had only escaped capture by fleeing at night from her starving garrison in the castle, over the frozen river.

References to students at Oxford become increasingly frequent in the reign of Henry II., and there is good reason to believe that, during that monarch's quarrel with Becket, there was a definite immigration from Paris to Oxford. At any rate, the King ordered all clerks, "as they love their revenues," to return to England, and many seem to have done so,—for the motive was surely a sufficient one. If this immigration took place, it will explain the visit which Giraldus Cambrensis paid to Oxford about 1185. That historian had written his "Topography of Ireland"; "being desirous not to hide his light under a bushel, but to place it on a candlestick, so that it might give light," he resolved to read it at Oxford, "where the clergy of England chiefly flourished and excelled in clerkship." "The readings lasted three successive days; on the first day he entertained all the poor of the whole town, on the second all the doctors of the different faculties, on the third the rest of the scholars." No wonder he got an audience by this munificent advertising; but the passage is

chiefly interesting as showing that, before the end of the reign of Henry II., Oxford was a great centre of students, and that these were arranged in Faculties with degrees.

We may assume that it was during the reign of the great Henry—who organised the English Constitution—that the University began to be organised; certainly the first mention of it as possessing powers of independent government coincides almost exactly with the great Charter, which is the beginning of national independence; King John signed the Charter in 1215; in 1214 the Chancellor, the representative and champion of the University, is first mentioned. Nor is the coincidence of time accidental. English liberties were wrung from a King whose oppressions had become intolerable; Oxford liberties were confirmed by a decision of the Papal Legate, because the citizens of Oxford had murdered two students, and relying on John's hatred of the clergy, had refused to make reparation. It was ordered that the townsmen in future were to surrender to the Chancellor or to some other representative of the Bishop, any clerks whom they arrested. The Chancellor derived his authority from Lincoln, for Oxford was in that diocese, and the Bishop was the natural protector of all students as "clerks," but, being more than one hundred miles away, could only protect them by deputy. Hence he delegated his authority to an official in Oxford, who soon, if not from the first, was elected by the students themselves. This period of University develop-

ment is illustrated by an interesting church in North Oxford, St Giles, which was consecrated by the great St Hugh (one of whose crosses can still be seen on the west pillar of the north arch of the Tower), and which is certainly one of the earliest instances of lancet work in England.[1]

The same cause which had begun the liberties of Oxford, led to their rapid development. The students and the citizens were always quarrelling, as was inevitable in the narrow space within which they both lived. The students complained then, as always, of extortionate prices for food and lodging, and of the dirty and unsanitary state of the town; the townsmen complained—probably with good reason—of the lawlessness of the students, and that they abused their privileges as clerks to screen themselves in acts of dishonesty and violence. No doubt both sides were to blame, but the University—thanks to its powerful allies, the King and the Church—always got the better in the end, and gained almost complete exemption from the ordinary courts and the right of being tried in their own, the control of the Oxford markets, and strict regulations as to the rent and tenure of the houses which they occupied. The city, which had oppressed the University in the reign of John was, before the end of the reign of Henry III., itself suffering oppression. The final struggle will be mentioned later.

[1] It dates from the end of the twelfth century, though the remains of the old clerestory on the north side of the nave and the lower part of the Tower, may be older. Most of the church is thirteenth century.

The University, then, which had gained all these privileges, cannot be said to have been founded by any single man, whether Alfred (see p. 49) or his successors. It was rather, as its name, *universitas* (guild or corporation) implied, the trade's union of the Oxford masters or teachers, which had succeeded in securing for itself, in a very special way, that privilege of ecclesiastical independence, which all "clerks" claimed, and to gain which, Becket had fought and died. The rules of admission to this trade's union were the earliest rules as to graduation; just as the journeyman workman was not his own master till he had shown his competence by producing his masterpiece, so the student was not a master of arts till he had satisfied those who were masters already that he was competent to teach. Hence in the modern degree ceremony, as it is performed from term to term, no degree can be given, unless there are at least nine masters present to "make a house."

The character of this mediæval union of teachers was, on the whole, democratic. Anyone could be admitted, even the son of a serf, and there was no examination; charity, monastic or otherwise, was always ready to help a poor clerk, and when his course of study was finished, a brilliant piece of disputation in the schools might easily win him attention and patronage, and so place his foot on the ladder of fortune. Students like Robert Grosseteste, the great Bishop of Lincoln, rose in this way from humble rank to the highest positions in England.

As might be expected, a society so democratic was on the side of liberty against the King; Henry III. found the students of Oxford so troublesome when he was besieging Northampton, that he swore he would hang them all, and he was with difficulty prevented from carrying out his threat. And the Church, too, found that the students whom it had protected could by no means be trusted to obey authority. The reform movement of Wycliffe at the end of the fourteenth century, is only one instance of the freedom of theological speculation which Oxford claimed for itself. But on the whole, the movements of Oxford thought were within the pale of the Church. The University was the chief centre in England of the activity of the Friars, especially of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The followers of St Dominic settled in Oxford in 1221, at first in the Jewry, where the Town Buildings now stand, but afterwards further south; the name of "Blackfriars Road" is the only trace of them left. Still more famous were the Franciscans, who settled in "the same quarter under the City Wall, in the suburb S. of St Ebbe's Church." In the end they were allowed to cross into the island in the river, *i.e.*, the so-called Trill Stream, and to extend the wall so as to include this. The Franciscan priory became a centre from which teachers of theology and philosophy went out into all parts of England, and even abroad. The most famous names are those of Roger Bacon, the greatest name in Oxford science, who dared to say that

among "the hindrances to grasping truth" was "the example of weak and unworthy authority";[1] of Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor," the champion of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; and of the "Invincible Doctor," William of Ockham, who supported the Civil Power against the Papacy itself.

The mediæval city in which all this intellectual activity went on was far smaller, not only than the present over-grown Oxford, but also than the Oxford of the Civil War. Large pieces of the old wall can still be seen, especially in New College Garden and at the back of Long Wall Street; Oxford extended from the Castle in the West to a little short of Magdalen on the East, and from St Michael's Church and the line of Ship Street on the North, to a line drawn South of Merton and through Christ Church on the South; the wall of Merton garden, in fact, is part of the old wall. Within this narrow space, which was not all occupied, there is no room for the 30,000 students whom mediæval writers (*cf.* p. 61) claim; probably Oxford was never more crowded than at the end of the reign of Edward I., and the number of students then did not exceed 4,000.

In Oxford at first there were no colleges; the students had no property, and lived in lodgings or in hired halls; it was only in 1274 that Walter de Merton (p. 75-6) set the example which was so rapidly and generously followed. The

[1] His burial place is marked by a tablet in Penson's Gardens in St Ebbe's parish.

result naturally was that the students who belonged to colleges looked down upon the poverty and lack of discipline of those who were outside college walls; in 1420 the University began to check the free admission of all, and in 1432 this restriction was completed by the rule that no student should live in Oxford except under a principal who was at least a master of arts. No doubt order and discipline were improved by these restrictions, but on the other hand Oxford lost in numbers and in sympathy with the mass of the English people. And at the same time intellectual freedom was checked; Archbishop Arundel, aided by the orthodox King Henry IV., succeeded in establishing his authority over the University (*cf.* p. 96), and after 1412, all masters were compelled to abjure Wycliffe's heresies. The days of the mediæval University were past; it needed the new life of the New Learning to revive it.

Yet Oxford was in some respects never more prosperous; at this time the University obtained its highest privileges, and finally crushed the city. On St Scholastica's day, February 10, 1354, the citizens had made an attack on the students far more fierce than any preceding one; there had been a pitched battle in the streets, to which the bell of Carfax (the tower still stands) had called one side, while the bell of St Mary's had summoned the "clerks"; these at last, overborne by superior numbers, for the citizens were reinforced by the sturdy rustics from the country round, had fled,

and many of them had been murdered. The result of all this had been that the city was put under interdict, and after a year's delay Edward III. had finally decided in favour of the students, and given them a charter of privileges which left the citizens helpless, and made the University officials supreme.

And wealth, too, was beginning to pour in on Oxford. It was in 1322 that Bishop Cobham had built the chapel at the N.E. of St Mary's (which still stands, *cf.* p. 31), to be at once a library and a council chamber; hitherto all University business had been transacted in the other parts of St Mary's, which (though used by the students) belonged to the parish. Just before the Wars of the Roses, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester gave his magnificent library of 600 books. The building which now forms the oldest part of the Bodleian was opened in 1488, the Divinity School beneath it in 1489. The arms of Duke Humphrey can still be seen on the bosses of its roof.[1]

The new learning was at first warmly received in Oxford. All the earliest Greek students in England were Oxford men (*cf.* p. 62), and Warham, the Chancellor of the University, and Wolsey were warm patrons of educational reform. Students like Colet (p. 167) and More (p. 101) dreamed of reforming the Church without schism, and that reason and scholarship would remove abuses; it soon proved, however, that the conservative members of Oxford, who had resisted the

[1] These bosses are admirably described in Miss Legge's "Divinity School." (Blackwell, Oxford; 2s.)

study of Greek as leading to heresy, were right from their own narrow point of view; Wolsey's great new college was found to be a special home of heresy (p. 208). The work of reformation passed out of the hands of Oxford students into those of a Cambridge archbishop, Cranmer, and of others who were far more violent and less learned than he. For a time it seemed as if Oxford itself would perish with the monasteries, for the appetite of Henry VIII.'s courtiers, once whetted for church property, was not easily sated; but that monarch was a scholar as well as a spendthrift. He told the would-be robbers: "Sirs, I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities." The number of students, however, fell off terribly; the old schools of the University were many of them let for drying clothes, and the shelves of the Library were sold (the books were destroyed by the visitors of Edward VI.) for what they would fetch (p. 302).

England has rarely been in a worse plight than it was when Elizabeth ascended the throne, and the state of Oxford reflected that of the nation. The wise and strong rule of the great Queen restored both, and the number of students at Oxford steadily rose as the prosperity of England increased. But a change was coming over the character of the students. It is in the sixteenth century that Oxford begins to be a rich man's university, though the wise arrangements of founders for the aid of poor students were still partly maintained (*e.g.*, Richard Hooker,

p. 194). The Queen did her best to encourage work by picking for her service the "eminent and hopeful students," and the consideration that their Sovereign's eye was upon them "did switch and spur on their industries." Such a man was Sir Thomas Bodley (*cf.* p. 80) This growth of prosperity continued for more than a generation after the death of Elizabeth. The first forty years of the seventeenth century are well called the "Laudian Age" in Oxford, for his was the ruling spirit (p. 247) in the changes that were going on. He recast the statutes of the University, and they continued as he had left them for more than 200 years; hence it is fitting that the Convocation House, Oxford's Parliament house, should remain to this day as Laud built it (p. 299). His changes brought order, discipline, learning, and greater wealth; the marks of this are seen in the new foundations which date from this period, *e.g.*, The Schools, Wadham College and the Botanic Garden (1621, first of its kind in England), and in the rebuilding of old foundations, *e.g.*, University and Oriel Colleges. At the same time it must be admitted that Laud did not extend to divergencies of ritual the liberty which he was ready to grant to religious thought; his methods for suppressing his opponents were those of his age. With political liberty he had little sympathy. Hence it was natural that Oxford should be the Royalist capital of England.

During the Civil War it almost ceased to be a home of study; only fifty students graduated

annually; it became instead a court and an impregnable fortress. Only when the Royal cause was hopeless, did Oxford surrender to Fairfax. Though many individuals suffered expulsion, the University generally prospered under men like Conant (p. 88) and Wilkins (p. 262). This prosperity continued for a time after the Restoration, though discipline sadly suffered, but with the eighteenth century a dark period begins, when almost all intellectual interest died out in Oxford, except in theological controversy, and when Oxford's most distinguished sons, *e.g.*, Gibbon (p. 175), as a rule speak most hardly of her. Yet even at this time there were many brilliant exceptions; Johnson (p. 271), Wesley (p. 133), Lowth (p. 127), are names which would be conspicuous at any time, and they all warmly praise Oxford as they knew her. In one respect it is fortunate that eighteenth century Oxford was so inactive; but for this most of the relics of mediæval Oxford would have been swept away; the plans for destruction, however, as at Magdalen (p. 174), Worcester (p. 276), and elsewhere were often not carried out in completeness; Queen's is an unhappy exception.

Our own day has seen a complete change in Oxford. The new examination statute (p. 224), which came in with the 19th century, stimulated industry and systematized work (the latter perhaps too much). The Oxford movement (p. 99) has revived the religious life of Oxford; the wave of democratic feeling has extended the sympathies of the University,

and has, through two Commissions, carried out changes in the statutes, which often have paid little respect to the wishes of founders. Clerical restrictions have been almost entirely abolished, the marriage of fellows has been permitted, new subjects of study have been introduced and endowed, religious tests have been removed,[1] even women have been admitted to the teaching, and now (1920) to the degrees, of Oxford. It is fitting that so many and such rapid changes should be reflected in the new Oxford which our own generation has created; the University (and almost every College) has added largely to its buildings. Though there have been cruel acts of vandalism, yet often the additions are gains to the beauty of Oxford. So, in spite of all changes, the best of the spirit of Oxford has been maintained, and her children, while reaching forward to the changes of the future, will yet prove not unworthy heirs of the treasures of the past.

[1] Both of the Nonconformist halls are in Mansfield Road, which leads N. from Holywell Street. That for orthodox Nonconformists, Mansfield, was designed by Champneys; it contains an interesting collection of portraits of Dissenting divines. Manchester (architect, Worthington), which lies further S., contains in its chapel some fine Burne-Jones glass; by adapting some of the old houses in Holywell, a picturesque quad has been formed here, with rooms for students. The Arlosh Hall (1914, Worthington) is a fine building. There are no undergraduates "resident" at Mansfield.

II

THE CATHEDRAL

BUILDINGS.—The oldest part is the piece of wall at the East end of the Choir Aisle and Lady Chapel, which may perhaps be part of the original church of St Frideswyde, built in the first half of the eighth century. This church having been burned in 1002, was restored on a larger scale by Ethelred. As to Ethelred's Church there are two opinions:—

(1) Some hold that it perished, and that the present choir, choir aisles, transepts and nave, date from the latter half of the twelfth century.

(2) Others hold that in the choir much of Ethelred's work survived, and that the work of the twelfth century was a restoration and an extension, not a rebuilding.

At any rate the Chapter House doorway seems to belong to a period not long after the Norman Conquest; it is therefore either earlier or later than

the rest of the Cathedral. It seems still to bear the marks of a fire, perhaps that of 1190, which much injured the buildings of St Frideswyde.

A peculiar feature of the Norman work in the Cathedral is that the piers are carried up through the triforium on the inside. Hence externally there is no triforium, and internally the same arch surrounds both the triforium and the main opening.

Early in the thirteenth century the upper portion of the Tower was built and the short spire added, being one of the very earliest in England. The Chapter house was also built, and a new aisle was added as a Lady chapel, on the left, *i.e.*, on the North, of the choir aisle.[1] All these belong to the Lancet or Early English style of architecture. Probably this aisle was intended to receive the new shrine of St Frideswyde, of which fragments can still be seen arranged on a stone framework; to this her remains were translated in 1289. This shrine is interesting as the earliest known instance in England of natural foliage in architectural decoration; this kind of ornament marks the transition to the

[1] This was its position at Canterbury Cathedral: at St Mary's (*cf.* p. 31) it is on the N. of the nave.

Decorated style of architecture. Probably the oak leaves had reference to the story of St Frideswyde's taking refuge in the forest (p. 3).

In the next century—the fourteenth—the most northerly of the three choir aisles was completed by adding two more bays. The chapel thus formed was called the Latin chapel; it was used till recently for the lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity. In this chapel there are several points of interest; the woodwork is partly that of the old Priory church, partly of the time of Wolsey, and partly the seventeenth century work of Dean Duppa, in the time of Charles I. The glass, too, is very interesting; the first three windows of the chapel are all fourteenth century work; the big east window was made from a design of Burne Jones to commemorate the story of St Frideswyde. It is, however, too broken in design and too hot in colour to be successful. Finally, of the monuments, the one at the west end is that of Sir George Nowers (died 1425) though the armour would seem to be earlier in date; the most easterly one is that of Lady Elizabeth Montacute, who gave Christ Church meadow to the Priory of St Frideswyde.

In the fifteenth century the wooden "watching chamber" was put up, from which a "watch" was kept on the riches of the shrine. The clerestory and the roof of the choir were altered later; there is good reason for attributing the roof with its fine fan-tracery to Wolsey. In all these changes the Perpendicular style was used, and to this also the windows were altered. The present cloister belongs to the last years of the 15th century.

In the sixteenth century, before Wolsey dissolved the Priory in 1524, the great window at the end of the north transept was inserted, and the roof of the transepts and tower added. Wolsey also swept away the three west bays of the nave, which had once extended to the line of the present quadrangle.

In the seventeenth century, the cathedral, which had became very ruinous from the destruction of the Reformation and from neglect, was thoroughly restored by Dean Duppa. One window, that at the west end of the north aisle of the nave, has been left, to show what was the seventeenth century idea of "restoring an old church: it contains some truly marvellous glass of the younger Van

Linge, representing Jonah and his gourd, with Nineveh in the background.

In our own century the Cathedral has been again thoroughly restored by Sir Gilbert Scott. It is more than doubtful, however, whether the term "restoration" can be applied to the sweeping away of the great fourteenth century window at the end of the choir, and the substitution of a Norman east end, which is purely Scott's own work. It may be admitted, however, that the effect is very good. The choir, too, has been entirely refitted. At the same time a western bay was added to the nave, repairing in part the destruction done by Wolsey.

Among other points of interest in the Cathedral is the tomb of Burton, author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," with a curious inscription; it is on a column in the north transept; in the nave is the monument of Bishop Berkeley, and in the south choir aisle the tomb of Bishop King, first bishop of Oxford and last abbot of Osney: above it is a very curious seventeenth century window, with a portrait of the Bishop, and a view of Osney Abbey in the background. Still more interesting is the glass

in the east window of the south transept, which is of the fourteenth century; the scene of the murder of St Thomas of Canterbury should be especially noticed. Becket's head has been removed as usual, owing to Henry VIII.'s dislike of the saint.

The modern glass in the east window of the south aisle, and in the two chapels to the north of the choir is beautiful; it is the work of William Morris, from designs of Burne Jones. The big window in the N. transept is by Clayton and Bell.

The whole Cathedral, though one of the smallest in England, is full of charm, from its admirable proportion, from the variety of styles, and from the beautiful character of the examples of each.

THE "Cathedral Church of Christ," at Oxford, occupies a double position; it is the chapel of a college and the cathedral church of a diocese. Before the sixteenth century it was neither of these; it was the conventual church of a religious body. Probably the earliest foundation here was one of nuns, and dated from the eighth century; it was then transferred to secular canons, and finally to the Augustinian canons; but it is not necessary to go into the

various changes. A more interesting question is whether the beginnings of the University are to be sought in the cloister school of St Frideswyde. It was once the general opinion that they were, and there is no doubt that special reverence was paid by the mediæval University to this saint, and that the University chest was kept at the Priory of St Frideswyde. But there is no trace of any authority over the students being ever claimed by the Priory; and it is impossible to believe that such an authority had once existed, and yet had disappeared without leaving a trace. The most, therefore, that can be said of the connection between the Priory and the University, is that the teaching in the cloister of the religious house was a cause which brought students to Oxford, and that probably the earliest teaching given in Oxford was given in connection with St Frideswyde. Certainly one of the earliest mentions of students in Oxford is the story of Prior Robert, who about 1170 was cured at the shrine of St Frideswyde. He had been wont from his infirmity to preach sitting to the clerks "from various parts of England,"—probably the earliest mention of university sermons.

Antony Wood records a curious privilege which the canons had received from the Pope. Owing to the cold, damp nature of their site, they were permitted in the winter to wear their caps, even during their devotions. Modern Oxford men will agree with them rather than with Scaliger, who says that he stood the cold

at Oxford "modica indutus toga" ("with only a light coat on").

But the privileges and the wealth of the monastery are merely antiquarian in interest. Wolsey in 1524 swept them into the current of Oxford life, suppressing St Frideswyde's by a Papal bull. He treated the old church itself with as little ceremony as he did its possessors, and intended to substitute for it a magnificent chapel after the style of that of King's College at Cambridge. But this never reached beyond its foundation, being in this respect typical of Wolsey's work as a whole. Meantime the old church, shorn of its three western bays, served as a chapel for Wolsey's students, and in 1528 was the scene of one of the early stories of the English Reformation. The small Lutheran community had been dismayed by the arrest of one of their number, Garret, but he escaped from the care of the Commissary, the Rector of Lincoln, and a young student named Dalaber was sent to tell the news to the brethren at Cardinal College. He says: "Even-song was begun. They were almost at the *Magnificat* before I came thither. I stood at the choir door and heard Master Taverner play—but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing." While he waited, "in cometh the Commissary bare-headed, as pale as ashes, and to the Dean he goeth in the Choir." In the end the poor Rector was blamed so much "for keeping of his prisoner so negligently that he wept for sorrow." The

whole of the pathetic story can be read in the pages of Mr Froude; it is only one of the many strange things that happened in St Frideswyde's during the time of the Reformation.

In 1546 Henry VIII. made it a cathedral, removing the new bishop's see from Osney, and under Edward VI. the Saint's shrine was actually used for the interment of the wife of Peter Martyr, one of the foreign theologians whom the young King loved, and whose doctrines he was trying to force on the English Church. The poor lady was not suffered to rest in peace, for Queen Mary's commissioners took up her bones and buried them in a dunghill. Finally, in Elizabeth's time, the matron and the saint were once more laid together, "so coupled and mixed" that they could not be distinguished, and the epitaph was added—

"Hic jacet religio cum superstitione."

But it was not only with the dead that Queen Mary warred; the living, too, suffered for the same cause. It was to the chancel of the cathedral that Cranmer was brought to hear the sentence which the Pope had pronounced on him in mock trial at Rome. He was then led into the cloister to be degraded; Bonner, who presided, publicly insulted him, but Cranmer rose to the occasion, and proudly demanded what right they, his suffragans, had to try him, their archbishop. It was in vain for him to appeal to a General Council; he was stripped of all his vestments, his hair was shorn, and the sacred

unction scraped from his finger-tips. He was then handed over to the secular arm. It was this kind of treatment, shown to one of the most learned and pious of Englishmen, which made a return to the old state of things impossible; and the reaction from Mary's cruelties carried the Church of England far in the other direction. Among the extreme Puritans was the new Dean of Christ Church, Sampson, and we can well believe that the fabric of the cathedral suffered under his Puritanism, and during the long vacancies of the see. These extended over forty-three of the first sixty years of its existence. Moreover, one of the bishops, John Underhill, a native of Oxford, was actually appointed by Walsingham from a "devotion to the leases that would yield good fines," *i.e.*, to consent to the misappropriation of the property of the see.

Hence we cannot wonder that the restoration was taken in hand in 1630 by Dean Duppa, one of the learned and pious men of the school of Laud; but it was carried out with woeful thoroughness, and old tombs and brasses were swept away. It was to a church thus classicized that King Charles came in 1636, and was received with the usual courtly adulation; he heard a sermon on "Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord." It is not strange that he believed that he could act as he pleased, being the Lord's Anointed.

Charles was to attend many more services in the Cathedral, for at the end of 1642 he took up his abode in Christ Church, and henceforth

the Cathedral was the royal church, where thanksgivings for victories were paid and where the religious enthusiasm of the Cavaliers found its centre. It was natural, therefore, that, when the Puritan army entered Oxford, the windows of the Cathedral were "much abused."

With the Restoration the history of the old church loses its varied interest; henceforth the only battles as to it are the rivalries between the Christ Church men and the rest of the University; for the former contended that they might take their preaching turns there instead of going to St Mary's, and the prescriptive rights of the University Church had to give way.

Unfortunately in their struggle for college privilege the authorities of the Cathedral forgot some of their duties as a religious body; it was only in the time of the late Dean, Dr Liddell (1856), that the Cathedral service began to be conducted in proper style. And in the 19th century Christ Church once more became a great religious centre. It was a battle-ground in the early days of Dr Pusey's life, when among his fellow canons were the latitudinarian Dr Hampden and the fighting evangelical Dr Faussett. During his later days he had colleagues more likeminded with himself in Dr Liddon and Dr King (late Bishop of Lincoln), and it was in his own cathedral that he was laid to rest in 1882, where a slab with a long inscription marks his grave in the nave.

Note.—The beautiful font-cover in St Lucy's Chapel (South Transept) was put up in 1902 from the design of Mr Bodley.

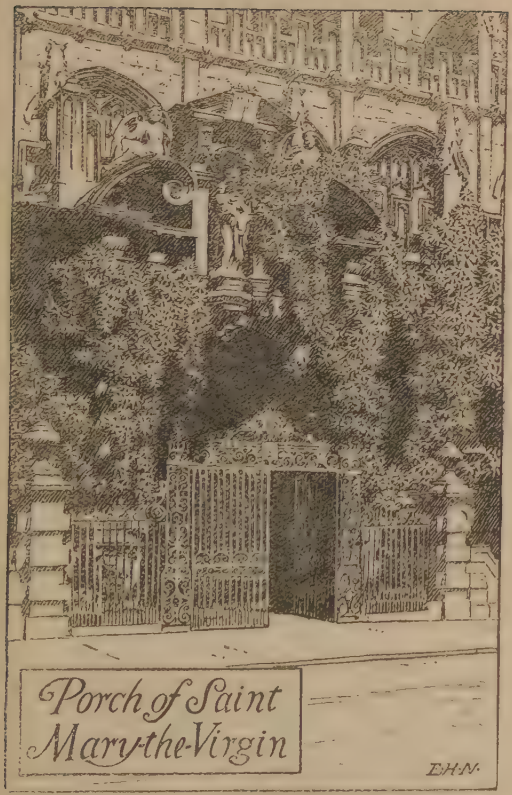
III

ST MARY'S CHURCH

BUILDINGS. — The oldest part of the Church is in "Adam de Brome's Chapel,"[1] the north wall of which—on the inside—may belong to Norman times. Next in date come the tower and the lower part of the spire, which are of the reign of Edward I. The old Congregation House and the room above it at the N.E. corner of the church were begun in 1320 by Adam de Brome, the founder of Oriel College, at the expense of Bishop Cobham of Worcester. The upper room was used as a library, and the possession of it was disputed between the University and Oriel College for nearly a century (p. 96). Unfortunately, in the fifteenth century reconstruction, windows were put in which hid the fact that the building consists of two stories. After the books had been transferred to Duke

[1] Properly the Lady Chapel.

Humphrey's library (p. 302), the upper room was used as a School of Law. This building is the only part of St Mary's which belongs to the University; the rest is a parish church, but has been lent since time immemorial for University meetings, whether religious or secular. As the old church had become ruinous, it was rebuilt in the latter half of the fifteenth century; the chancel was first begun in 1462, the nave was not opened till 1498. These are fine examples of late Perpendicular work. In the seventeenth century the organ was put up by Father Smith in 1624, and the south-west porch, with the beautiful twisted columns, was added by Laud's Chaplain, Dr Owen, with the Archbishop's sanction in 1637. In 1733 the old Lady Chapel on the north side (commonly called Adam de Brome's chapel, because of his tomb being in it) was walled off from the rest of the church, in order to save the heads of houses from cold draughts. In the last century the galleries were enlarged, and the whole of the present woodwork of the nave, including the pulpit, was introduced (1828); the Vice-Chancellor had previously sat at the west end. The pulpit, however, to judge from


Porch of Saint
Mary-the-Virgin
E·H·N·

the attitude of the angel above it, is still in the original position. Some remains of two old pulpits may still be seen near the entrance door on the N. The great west window, one of Kempe's most beautiful works in Oxford, was inserted (1891) in memory of the late Dean Burgon, who was vicar.

Finally, in our own day (1895-6), the elaborate and beautiful pinnacles which surround the base of the spire had to be once more renewed. Those put up by Mr Buckler, not fifty years before, had become dangerous, and were removed; the present ones are from a design by Mr Jackson. At the same time all the old statues were renewed, except that of the saint at the S.E. corner. During the course of the work, a severe storm, in March 1895, damaged the top of the spire, and this, too, was rebuilt.

ST MARY'S has always been so closely connected with the University of Oxford, that it has, of course, been attributed to King Alfred as a founder. For this story, however, there is no evidence; and though we know that there is a church of St Mary's mentioned in Domesday, the first rector on record is John of Oxford,

one of the many churchmen who sided with Henry II. against Archbishop Thomas; he was afterwards made a bishop. But the interest of St Mary's at this period, and long after, is that it was the centre of the life of the University, secular as well as religious; situated as it was at the end of the old "Schools Street," it naturally became the building which was used by the University for all functions. The early students had no local habitations of their own, but lived and taught in hired halls, and deliberated and held ceremonies in borrowed churches. What St Mary's was to the University is symbolized by the fact that its bell summoned the students alike to warfare against the citizens, and to peaceful disputations among themselves.

The whole church was assigned to different stages of University life. According to a very probable theory, it was in the "Porch" (*parvisus*) of St Mary's that a man disputed for a year as a "general sophister," this being one of the qualifications for his degree; a trace of this ceremony survived till 1893 in the "Testamurs" given to successful candidates in "Smalls," who were said to have answered "*in parviso*" the questions of the Masters of the Schools.

The various chapels of St Mary's were assigned to the different Faculties for their deliberations, and the Congregation of all the Faculties, Regents (*i.e.*, teachers) and non-Regents alike, met in the choir, forming the supreme governing body of the University. Finally, in the nave was held the solemn Act

—corresponding to the modern Encænia—when the new masters were admitted to "incept," *i.e.*, enter on their new rank by performance of their duties and lecturing.

This ceremony continued to be held in St Mary's till the growing feeling against the incongruity of secular shows in churches led Archbishop Sheldon to present his University with the magnificent Theatre[1] that still bears his name. It seems strange that the buffooneries of the Terrae Filius, the licensed jester, which formed a regular part of the Act, should have been allowed in a consecrated building as late as the Restoration. A generation earlier the legislative work of the University had already been transferred by Archbishop Laud to his new Congregation House (p. 299); and in 1646 the Chancellor's Court sat for the last time in Adam de Brome's Chapel. But in mediæval times the lines between sacred and secular were not so sharply drawn. The struggle for University privilege centred round St Mary's; it was here, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the members of the Preaching Orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, were compelled to perform their exercises for their theological degrees, instead of in their own more secluded and quiet convents; Oxford as a home of the secular clergy was always jealous of the regulars. But even in mediæval times there seem to have been some scruples as to the use of the Church merely for worldly purposes; the

[1] 1669; designed by Wren; the roof was altered 1802.

meetings in it and in its churchyard led so frequently to bloodshed, that early in the reign of Edward III., formal application was made to the Pope to appoint a standing commission for the "reconciliation" of the Church, whenever such an unfortunate event rendered the ceremony necessary. The Pope, instead of granting this, sent a bull forbidding any meetings whatsoever in the consecrated precincts. It, however, was not put in force for eighteen years, and then (apparently) only because the Oriel men thought they could turn it to their own advantage. Their Provost, Hawkesworth, had been elected Chancellor in the Northern interest, and was attacked by Wylliot of Merton, the candidate of the Southerners: he tried to crush the opposition against himself by producing the bull, apparently without much effect.

It was because of this close connection between St Mary's and University business that the Church was rebuilt by a special effort at the end of the fifteenth century. The Chancellor and the Congregation issued a whole series of begging letters, to all the leading persons in England, which may still be read in the University archives. The result of these letters was the present splendid nave.

It was in the Church thus reconstructed that took place the most pathetic and the most important scenes that have marked its history; in the choir of St Mary's, Cranmer was tried on September 12, 1555, by Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, as representing the Pope, and maintained his cause

with firmness and courtesy against all his judges. It was to the nave of St Mary's that the venerable primate was afterwards brought on March 21, 1556, in order that his enemies might enjoy the triumph of his public recantation. He was placed to hear the sermon against him on a low platform just opposite the pulpit[1] (the ledge cut for it may still be seen in the pillar to the left of the Vice-Chancellor's chair). When the sermon was over, he astonished friends and enemies alike by his recantation of his recantation, ending with the well-known words—"And for as much as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned."

Within a very short time St Mary's was the witness of another tragedy. To it on September 22, 1560, was brought the body of Leicester's unfortunate wife, Amy Robsart, who had died at Cumnor. A public funeral was given her by the University, and she was laid in the choir. The Vice-Chancellor preached on "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," and was bold or careless enough to speak of the poor lady as having been "so pitifully murdered." It is not surprising that he lost the favour of Leicester, whose chaplain he had been. Only one other funeral in St Mary's can be compared to that of Amy Robsart—that of the great University bene-

[1] On precisely the same spot Mr Newman was wont to kneel before entering the pulpit (on his way from the vestry).

factor, Dr John Radcliffe, in November, 1714. His body had lain in state for nearly four weeks in London, and was received at Oxford, where it lay in state in the Divinity School for two days more, with all the pomp the University could show. His only memorial in St Mary's is a small stone close to the glass door leading into the chancel; but it has been well said that Wren's epitaph might be adapted for him—"Si quæris monumentum, *re*spice." The Radcliffe Library is the noblest monument of this most generous of physicians.

Quite early in her reign (1566) Queen Elizabeth was entertained in St Mary's; for three days in succession did the learned lady listen to disputations for four mortal hours on a September afternoon; then the Queen "of her benignity concluded the Act with a speech of her own in Latin." She had asked Lord Leicester and her Secretary, Cecil, to do it, but they, like true courtiers, "waved it" and left it to Her Majesty. If Antony Wood may be trusted, the University, about this time, heard a layman preach in St Mary's. Mr Taverner, the high sheriff of the county, "of pure charity" came and "gave the Academians, destitute of evangelical advice, a sermon beginning "Arriving at the Mount of St Mary's . . . I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of Charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of Salvation."

During the century which followed the Reformation, St Mary's became the battle-ground

of the parties within the Church of England. At first Calvinist views were most popular, and when Laud ventured to advocate the Catholic doctrines of sacramental grace and of episcopacy, he was looked upon as a heretic. He had to sit among the heads of houses, and hear himself abused as a "mongrel compound of Papist and Protestant" by Abbot, the brother of the archbishop: but all things come to him who waits, and before the end of his career, his party was meting out to others in St Mary's the treatment which had been meted out to him. So in 1622 a Mr Hurd was "soundly rattled" for a sermon on Resistance to Kings, and had to recant on his knees in Convocation. Laud left his mark for good on St Mary's, as he did on every institution with which he was connected. His chaplain, Dr Owen, built the beautiful porch with twisted columns at the S.W. of the church; over it stands the fine statue—by Stone—of the crowned Virgin and Child. This seemed to his enemies "very scandalous," and Alderman Nixon, a well-known Oxford puritan, deposed that he had seen people worship it. This unlucky statue actually figured in the articles of impeachment against the Archbishop, which at last cost him his head; but (though defaced at the time) it remains as a memorial of his good taste and of the narrowness of his opponents. The Puritan party saw very clearly the importance of securing the University pulpit; when Oxford surrendered in 1646, they did not trust to the

efforts of mere ordinary preachers, although the notorious Hugh Peters is said to have forced himself on St Mary's in this capacity more than once. Seven of the best men of the now victorious party were told off to preach before the University, among them Reynolds, the Dean of Christ Church; even Wood admits him to have been a "good scholar and an excellent preacher," though he maintains that the Puritan divines produced no effect; they made themselves ridiculous by their "wry mouths and puling tones." It is not necessary to take this too literally, nor to believe that the intended preachers were in the habit of calling D.D.'s "dumb dogs and idle drones."

Whatever the cause, there is no doubt that Oxford students remained fanatically loyal after the Restoration, and largely Jacobite after the Revolution. As an instance, may be mentioned the sermon of the hot-headed Dr Sacheverell, who on March 9, 1704, preached at St Mary's the Assize sermon on "Schismatical Universities" "which concerning faith have made shipwreck." It went through three editions before the year was out, for men read sermons in those days as well as published them. But it had nothing like the popularity of his London sermons, five years later, on "Perils of False Brethren," which set all England in a flame.

Sleepy times, however, were at hand, during which men would not be moved by either religion or politics. It was in such a time that the Wesleys came up to the University;

what the state of Oxford was may be gathered from the fact that Whitfield became a marked man because, with the other "Methodists," he received the sacrament at St Mary's on a week-day. Wesley himself preached for the last time before the University on August 24, 1744. His text was Acts iv. 31: "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost." The spirit of his sermon may be gathered from the entry in his diary: "I am now clear from the blood of these men—I have fully delivered my soul." The Vice-Chancellor sent for his notes, but nothing came of it.

It is not surprising that, when the Church was asleep, men thought they must provide elaborate defences for her. It was with this purpose that Dr John Bampton (died 1751) founded his famous lectureship, which has produced so many famous courses, and which has also produced, of recent years, some lectures which would have astonished the worthy founder by their strange conceptions of Christian apologetics; the first lecture was in 1779. At the time when the Bampton Lectures were founded there were far more University sermons than there are now, and fewer fit to give them. It is only since 1819 that sermons ceased to be given during the Long vacation, while they lasted in the Christmas vacation till 1859; and the appointment of "select preachers" to take the places of the ordinary M.A.'s who declined to preach in their turns before the University, is also a change of the last century. The vacant places previously

were supplied by what were known as "hack preachers"; their standard may be estimated from the joke of one of them that he was the best paid preacher in the Church of England, because he often got a guinea a head; the fee was then £4, 4s. It is now £5, 5s.

But the reviving tide of interest in religious matters soon altered this state of things; in the palmy days of the Oxford Movement the sermons at St Mary's were almost as much discussed as in the seventeenth century. And the pulpit there is inseparably connected with the leading men among the Tractarians; by universal consent the Oxford revival begins with Mr Keble's assize sermon on "National Apostasy"; this was delivered on July 14, 1833. The task of reproducing University sermons was imposed by tutors on their pupils within the memory of men yet living; in days when the keenest intellects in Oxford were devoted to theological study, such a requirement was still workable.

The greatest name of all at St Mary's is that of Newman; he became vicar in 1828, and held the post for fifteen years. It was from the pulpit there that he especially exercised his influence in the University; all that was best in Oxford, in intellect and in character, gathered to hear his parish sermons; it was said that in some of the evangelical colleges, a "chapel" was placed before dinner, instead of after, as had been the custom, in order to prevent men attending Newman's afternoon service at 4 P.M. Many tributes have been paid to his preaching; one

may be quoted here from a member of Newman's own college, Trinity, who was in every way a contrast to him,—the scholar and adventurer, Richard Burton: "There was a stamp and a seal upon him, a solemn music and sweetness in his manner, which made him singularly attractive." He was "monotonous," and "lacked action"; "yet the delivery suited the matter of the speech, and the combination suggested complete candour and honesty. He said only what he believed, and he induced others to believe with him."

Three years before Newman became vicar of St Mary's, a curious relic of mediæval Oxford was removed—none too soon. Up to that date the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford had had to attend the Litany at St Mary's, and make an offering in commemoration of the brutal massacre of St Scholastica's Day, 1354. Though the old indignities of ropes round the neck, etc., had long been done away with, the city had felt bitterly the disgrace of the commemorative service.

St Mary's is still in some ways the centre of University life. Still the first function of term is the Latin Eucharist on the Friday before "Full Term," and still every Sunday morning[1] the Vice-Chancellor goes in state to the University sermon. Oxford is no longer officially a Church University, but she is still a home of "true religion" as well as of "sound learning."

[1] In 1901 the afternoon sermon was abolished, and the right of preaching before the University was lost by ordinary M.A.'s. Since 1916 the Latin Litany and the Latin Sermon come only once a year, on the first Sunday in Hilary Term.

IV

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

THE earlier buildings of University have entirely disappeared. The oldest part of the present college is the W. side of the first quadrangle, which was begun in 1634; the N. side on the High Street was begun next year, and the Hall and the Chapel shortly after (in 1639). The E. side of the quadrangle was not completed till 1674. The N. and E. sides of the smaller quadrangle were built about 1719, though the style of the old building has been preserved.

The block to the extreme W. of the college, looking on the High Street, was built in 1843 (Sir Charles Barry, architect), the Gothic library, from the design of Sir Gilbert Scott, in 1861, and the Master's Lodge, probably the most beautiful modern house in Oxford, was added in 1879 from the design of Mr Bodley.

University College
EHN

The interest of the buildings at University lies in the fact that they are one of the best instances of the survival of Gothic in seventeenth century Oxford. The Hall has been greatly improved recently by being lengthened (1903), and by the uncovering of the fine timber roof (1904); the new windows (Powell) are good. The Chapel and the Hall were refronted in Gothic style in 1800. In 1802 the Chapel received its vaulted roof, though the general decoration is still Grecian; the arcade round the sanctuary was added by Sir G. Scott in 1862; the windows, made by the younger Van Linge, are among the best specimens of 17th century glass in Oxford. The fine Elizabethan carving of University Hall (rebuilt 1902 by Moore) is now in the Common Room. A gallery joins (1905) the two parts of the College, which made good against the city its rights over Logic Lane, by a lawsuit, in which the charters quoted went back to the time of King John.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE claims Alfred the Great as founder; the story is a striking instance of the uncritical character of mediæval history. The College had been known always as the Hall of William of Durham; yet in 1381, when a Londoner claimed some of their

property, it appealed to Richard II. on the ground that it had been founded by King Alfred. A deed was produced, sealed with the University seal, which invented an imaginary Master of University College, and an imaginary Chancellor; thanks to this and other equally trustworthy documents, the college received recognition as a Royal foundation, though it had to pay a large sum to the plaintiff Francis. The fiction became even more circumstantial as time went on. Fuller, in his "Church History," records how the scholars of University were robbed by William the Conqueror of their pensions from the Royal exchequer, because they "sought to preserve and propagate the English tongue," which he designed to suppress.

Finally in 1726 the legend was confirmed by a judgment of the Court of King's Bench, when the fellows actually pleaded that "religion would receive a great scandal," if it were decided in a court of justice, that a "succession of clergymen" had "returned thanks for so many years for an idol, a mere nothing." Hence King Alfred holds his place in the thanksgiving for benefactors, and in 1872 the college celebrated its millenary by a dinner, at which the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke) gravely argued that the fact that Oxford was in 872 in the hands of the Danes confirmed the tradition that Alfred was the college founder; for he was a man before his time, and had anticipated the great modern political doctrine, that the surest way to popu-

larity was to give away the property of your opponents. The fiction is visibly embodied in the marble bust of King Alfred which adorns the fellows' common-room.

The real history of University begins with the bequest of William of Durham in 1249; he left a sum of 310 marks "for the purchase of annual rents unto the use of 10 or more M.A.'s to study theology." The University itself was trustee and as early as 1253 bought property on the site of Brasenose for William of Durham's foundation; on this priority of endowment rests the claim of University College to its position as the "Senior filia Universitatis" (as Pope Eugenius called it in the fifteenth century), but the scholars of William of Durham had no powers of self-government till they received their first statutes in 1280. University College owes its name to this dependence; it was the first hall acquired by the University, and hence became known as "University Hall."

William of Durham was a North Country man, and his college was one of the centres of the Northern nation in the faction fights of mediæval Oxford; its fellowships were largely restricted to Durham and Yorkshire men until the Commission in 1854 swept away local restrictions.

University College has been famous in the history of Oxford rather for the careers of its sons than for any movements of which it has been the centre; it is not till late in the seventeenth century that it becomes the scene of any important events. But to the pre-Reformation Church it had given

Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, architect of the central tower of York Minster, and Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, founder of Lincoln College; in Reformation times it trained Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and was presided over at the end of the century by Abbot,* who preceded Laud at Canterbury, being the first Oxford archbishop since Mary's time. In the seventeenth century its sons were famous for learning, among them being Bingham, the great ecclesiastical antiquarian, Carte, the Jacobite historian, and Potter,* afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whose "Greek Antiquities" survived among scholars, till it was displaced by the more modern work of Dr William Smith.

But at the close of the seventeenth century, University for a brief season is one of the most prominent colleges in Oxford; its master, the Rev. Obadiah Walker, became a pervert to Romanism, and not only obtained from King James II. a dispensation to retain his place as Master, but also opened a Roman chapel in the ground floor rooms at the S.E. corner of the front quad, which was to be a centre of proselytizing in Oxford. His rule is commemorated by the statue of James II. over the gateway in the inner quadrangle. He was a friend of the famous Dr John Radcliffe,* a former member of University, whose charity began at home in his old college as well as flowed over the whole of Oxford; it was mainly at his cost that the small quadrangle was completed, which his statue still adorns. The name of Walker

was long preserved in the doggerel rhyme which told how

"Old Obadiah sings Ave Maria."

Of course he lost his post as Master after the Revolution, and the statues which are seen over the gates of the college to the High Street, are those of Mary and of Anne.

Of his immediate successors, Dr Charlett, one of the persecutors of Hearne (called the "Oxford Intelligencer" from his love of gossip) played a prominent part in the literary circles of the time. His correspondents are said to have numbered about 2000, so that he spent nearly all his income, as Master, on his postage, and died insolvent.

In the eighteenth century University College does not seem to have sunk so low as most other foundations. About 1750 it sent forth in Bishop G. Horne,* long famous for his Commentary on the Psalms, and in Jones of Nayland, two men who showed that even in that age of indifferentism it was possible to combine religious earnestness and sound learning with full loyalty to the Church of England. And in William Scott (*Hoppner), afterwards Lord Stowell, who was tutor from 1765 to 1775, University anticipated the revival of study which marked the closing years of the eighteenth century in Oxford. He could never be persuaded to publish his lectures, on Ancient History, which were thought the best of his time, though even in his own day men laughed at a lecturer, who, wishing to say the Greeks "had no chimneys," wrote, "they had no convenience

by which the volatile parts of fire could be conveyed into the open air." We do not need to be told that he was a friend of the great Dr Johnson. Among his pupils the most famous were his brother, John Scott,* afterwards Lord Eldon, and Sir William Jones,* the great orientalist (fine bas relief in the ante-chapel by Flaxman) and one of the founders of modern philology. William Windham, the friend of Burke (portrait by Sir T. Lawrence), and Lord Hastings (* Hoppner), Governor-General of India, belong to the same period.

The level of work in the University generally at this time is shown by the well-known story of Lord Eldon's examination for his degree; he was examined in Hebrew and in history, but the only questions put to him were, "What is the Hebrew for a scull?" to which he answered "Golgotha," and "Who founded University College?" to which he replied, "King Alfred." The colossal statues of the brothers Scott adorn, or rather dwarf, the new library. Another famous University man of the eighteenth century is Sir Roger Newdigate,* the founder of the prize poem which bears his name.

It was at the close of this period that University matriculated its most famous son. Shelley came into residence in 1810, and for eleven months pursued an odd existence in Oxford, studying every kind of subject except the Aristotle which was prescribed for him, talking with his friend Hogg on all subjects under the sun, and roaming the country round in long walks. Their

opinion of the University of Oxford is quaintly phrased by Hogg: "Oxford is a seat in which learning sits very comfortably, well thrown back, as in an easy chair, and sleeps so soundly that neither you nor I nor anyone else can wake her." But in an evil hour Shelley was moved to publish a pamphlet of anti-Christian tendency, called "The Necessity of Atheism." The Master and fellows, instead of treating it as a boyish escapade and trying remonstrance and influence, sent him down and his friend Hogg with him. And so the greatest name on the roll of Oxford poets is, like the name of her greatest historian, Gibbon, that of one whom she rejected as unworthy. In our own day the sepulchre of the prophet has been built by the successors of those who cast him out; in 1893 the Master and fellows of University accepted from Lady Shelley the beautiful monument of the poet by Onslow Ford, which had been intended originally for his tomb in Rome. It is a pity that so lovely a piece of sculpture should be enshrined in a building hideous without and over-ornate within.

In the middle of the last century University was fortunate in its fellows. Dean Stanley (Eddis *), Goldwin Smith, a pioneer in Oxford Reform, and Conington, editor and translator of Virgil, were there together. Slightly later was Sir Edwin Arnold, the poet, who is buried in the chapel, and the heroes of the Universities' Central African Mission, C. Janson, Bishop Maples,* and Archdeacon Johnson. The Hall contains a fine portrait (Sir G. Reid) of the late Master, Dr James Frank Bright, the historian.

V

BALLIOL COLLEGE

BUILDINGS. — The oldest part of the buildings of Balliol is probably the reading room of the Library (formerly the Dining-Hall), lying on the left side of the front quadrangle, which may date from the first quarter of the fifteenth century; it was, however, recast by the notorious Wyatt at the end of the last century, who transferred the entrance to the garden quadrangle from the S. to the N. side of the Hall, and removed the beautiful old arch with ogee canopy to its present place on the N. side of the quadrangle, leading to the Chapel. He also completely recast the Library, of which the ground floor had been built at the same time as the Hall, while the floor above (the present upper Library) had been added in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The buildings in the Italian style, at the corner of the Broad and opposite St Mary

Balliol College
E.H.N

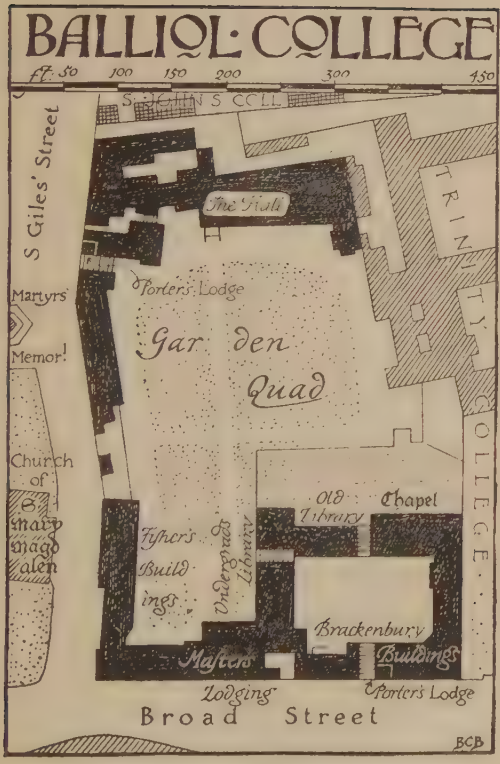
Magdalen Church, were erected in 1769, in part by a Mr Fisher, and bear his name. Further N., the new Gothic buildings, looking on the Martyr's Memorial, belong to the first half of the present century, and stand on the site of the old "Cæsar's lodgings." The Chapel was rebuilt by Mr Butterfield in 1856-7, taking the place of a beautiful sixteenth century Chapel, the destruction of which was one of the worst acts of vandalism in modern Oxford; the sixteenth-century glass, however, has been carefully restored, and the windows are now some of the best in the University. Then (1867-1869) the present front of the college on the Broad St., and the E. side of the first quadrangle, were rebuilt by Sir A. Waterhouse, and the N. side of the garden quadrangle was enclosed with buildings, completed (1877) by the Hall (also Waterhouse; finely panelled 1910).

The W. front of the college is now (1907) continued northwards along St Giles with a new building (designed by Warren). It is fitting that Balliol, "the most progressive of our colleges," should have so large a proportion of its buildings modern.

NOTE.—A memorial of Jowett (by Onslow Ford) has been added at the N.E. end of the chapel.

BALLIOL COLLEGE owes its origin to an act of outrage, and the penance which was imposed to atone for it. John de Balliol, one of the great barons of the north, and father of the rival of Robert Bruce, had, in 1260, "unjustly vexed and enormously damnified" the churches of Tynemouth and of Durham; for this he was compelled to make amends by a public scourging, and by endowing four students at Oxford. Hence the foundation of Balliol dates from about 1260; but the main part of the scheme was carried out by his widow, Dervorguilla, who thus, like Dorothy Wadham in the seventeenth century, shares the honour of being a "founder" with her husband,—the linked shields of the Balliol arms commemorate this.

The first students were placed (certainly before 1266) in a hired house, close to St Mary Magdalen Church; hence Balliol has a claim to being considered the oldest college in Oxford, because its students have longest occupied the same site. But in all other respects, the foundation of Balliol is far less important than that of Merton; in fact it was at first "a simple almshouse" for the residence of students, resembling rather the early foundations of Paris than the type of college which was to prevail in Oxford. The first statutes were issued in 1282, and these were repeatedly modified in the two following centuries, till in 1507 they assumed their final form at the hands of Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College. The comparative unimportance of the college is


BALLIOL COLLEGE
ft. 50 100 150 200 300 450
S. JOHN'S COLL
S Giles' Street
The Hall
TRINITY COLLEGE
Porter's Lodge
Martyrs' Memorial
Garden Quad
Church of St Mary Magdalen
Old Library
Chapel
Fisher's Buildings
Brackenbury Buildings
Masters Lodging
Porter's Lodge
Broad Street
BCB

shown by the fact that the scholars did not obtain a chapel of their own till 1327, and, even after this, were compelled to attend mass at St Mary Magdalen's till 1364.

It is just at this date that Balliol receives her most famous son, John Wycliffe,* who became Master about 1360. Whether he had previously been a fellow of Balliol, as the statutes required, or whether he was elected from Merton, must remain uncertain; at all events, he only kept the Mastership for a year, and then took the rectory of Fillingham in Lincolnshire. When he returned to Oxford in 1363, he is said to have resided at Queen's (though this is now held to be doubtful), where he hired rooms for £1 a year; hence we cannot picture Balliol as being the centre of the great reforming movement of the fourteenth century. But it is at least interesting to note that Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, to whom Wycliffe "owed the distinguishing elements of his (scholastic) teaching" had been a fellow of Balliol in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. He is best remembered as the author of the much-quoted statement that Oxford, in his early days, had 30,000 students. This he solemnly affirmed in a speech at Avignon in 1357; whether he was carried away by the zeal of an advocate, or spoke with the extravagance of an Irishman, certain it is that no historian now accepts his statement.

Balliol during the first century of its existence was a home of the Northerners, and its great men were champions of the scholastic philo-

sophy: but in the fifteenth century it became the nursing mother of the early English humanists. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who, whatever his faults as a politician, was a loyal son of Oxford and a noble patron of learning, was probably at Balliol; and of the five Englishmen who are mentioned as studying Greek at Ferrara about the middle of the fifteenth century, four are Balliol men—William Grey, afterwards Bishop of Ely (died 1478); John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (died 1470); John Free, Bishop of Bath and Wells (died 1465); and John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells (died 1498). All these were distinguished as scholars in the widest sense of the term, and, like all early scholars, were also book-collectors; Grey especially is to be remembered in this respect, and of the two hundred books with which he endowed his college, Balliol still possesses one hundred and fifty-two. He was also a contributor to the building of the new library, on the windows of which his name, and that of the Master, Abdy, are still to be read:—

> "His Deus adjecit; Deus his det gaudia celi;
> Abdy perfecit opus hoc Gray presul et Ely"

His coat-of-arms, too, is still to be seen on the panels under the splendid oriel window at the E. end of the Master's lodgings; in it also are preserved the arms of another munificent son of Balliol at this time, George Neville, Archbishop of York, and brother of the "King-maker," who was made Chancellor of

Oxford in 1452. To a slightly later period belong Archbishop Morton, the minister of Henry VII.; and the good Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, who endeavoured to preserve the Humanist traditions of his college amid the storms of the Reformation. But after this period of brilliance Balliol sinks into comparative obscurity till almost the beginning of the present century. The amount of plate which it gave to King Charles was the least of any college; and, unlike most other places, half the members of the foundation seem to have submitted to the authority of the Parliamentary visitors.

John Evelyn, who was admitted as a fellow-commoner to Balliol in 1637, seems to have studied little there but dancing and music; his tutor was occupied in quarrelling with the Master of the time, and Evelyn left Oxford after three years without taking a degree. But the state of the college became much lower in the succeeding generation. Humphrey Prideaux, writing to his friend Ellis in 1674, tells a story, which he "does not well believe," but which at any rate illustrates what the Balliol fellows of the time were thought to be like. "There is over against Balliol a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers. Here the Balliol men continually lie, and by perpetual bubbing add art to their natural stupidity, to make themselves perfect sots." The Master, Dr Good, a "good, honest old toast," remonstrated, and pointed out the "mis-

chiefs of that hellish liquor called ale." When, however, he was told that the "Vice-Chancellor's men drank ale at the Split Crow," he was "non-plussed," and on going to consult the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Bathurst of Trinity, he was told there "was no hurt in ale." Accordingly he called the Balliol men together again, and told them that as the Vice-Chancellor gave his men leave to drink ale, he would give them leave too. "So now," as Prideaux grimly concludes, "they may be sots by authority."

When discipline was in this state, we are not surprised that Balliol had few men and rooms to spare; when the Parliament met in Oxford in 1681, at the beginning of the reaction after the Popish Plot, the Whig leaders—Shaftesbury and others—hired rooms in Balliol, not being able to get quarters for all their party in Shaftesbury's own college of Exeter. Altogether, some fifteen peers seem to have been accommodated. The deserted state of Balliol may be gathered from the story told of Dr Bathurst, President of Trinity (1664 to 1704), the Vice-Chancellor of Prideaux's story quoted above. Then, as in later times, Trinity and Balliol entertained for each other the usual feelings of neighbours; and the old President, who was in his dotage, was seen throwing stones from his garden at the windows of Balliol, "as if happy to contribute his share in completing the appearance of its ruin."

But Balliol was still receiving a steady stream

of benefactions. In 1601 Peter Blundell of Tiverton established the connection which still exists between the college and the school which Mr Blackmore has immortalised in "Lorna Doone." The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Temple, is only one of the able West-country men who have been sent to Oxford by this foundation. But much more important was the bequest (in 1679) of Mr John Snell, who left his estate in Warwickshire to endow exhibitions from Glasgow University to Balliol. This endowment was intended for members of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, but, of course, this part of the will was not carried out. Adam Smith, who was at Balliol in the first half of the eighteenth century; Sir William Hamilton, who was in residence at Oxford from 1807 to 1810; J. G. Lockhart, the biographer of Scott; and Archbishop Tait, are examples of the clear-headed and industrious Scotch students whom the bounty of Mr Snell has sent to Balliol.

But though Georgian Balliol boasts the great name of Bradley * the astronomer, it was but an obscure college. Southey, one of Oxford's scanty band of poets, who came up in 1792, complained that Oxford dons showed "waste of wigs and want of wisdom." It was only with the appointment of Dr Parsons* as Master in 1798 that the revival began; but then it proceeded rapidly. Dr Parsons may claim to share with Cyril Jackson of Christ Church, and Provost Eveleigh of Oriel, the honour of being the founders

of modern Oxford. They established the examination system in the first year of the century, and made the tutorial system once more a reality. Parsons was a man of sense, who knew how to leave a student of genius alone. He said of Sir William Hamilton: "He will turn out a great scholar, and we shall get the credit of making him so, though in point of fact we shall have done nothing for him whatever." The wisdom of this course is shown in Hamilton's remark that from Balliol, "I gratefully acknowledge I carried into life a taste for these studies which have contributed the most interesting of my subsequent pursuits." This unconscious influence of Oxford is true of many students besides the Scotch philosopher Dr Parsons, too, contributed in a very real way to bridge over the gulf which had for centuries separated the University and the city of Oxford; he was himself of an Oxford family, and was Vice-Chancellor in the same year in which his brother was Mayor.

Balliol now reaped the advantage of the accident that its scholarships were not limited by statute to any particular localities. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, they had already become the "blue ribbon of the public schools," a position which they have not yet lost.

The work of Parsons, who died in 1819, was carried on by his successors—Jenkyns * (1819-1854), Scott * (1854-1870), Jowett (1870-1893), [* Watts] and Caird (1893-1907) [* Collier]. The first was a well-known Oxford

character, who, without being himself very clever, was an extraordinary judge of men; he surrounded himself with a band of tutors who were foremost in the making of modern Oxford. So masterful was his rule over his "young men" that his enemies used to ask when the board with "Dr Jenkyns' Academy" painted on it, was to be put up over the Balliol gateway. Scott's name is known everywhere among Greek scholars, thanks to his share in the great dictionary of "Liddell and Scott"; while Benjamin Jowett, as a leader in the Oxford Liberal movement and as the translator of Plato, had a reputation which extended far beyond the University. The late Master, J. L. Strachan Davidson (* Sir George Reid), was well known as a Roman historian.

Balliol, guided by seven Masters of great ability, and recruited continually by the best material from the English public schools, has been, without doubt, the foremost college in Oxford during the last three-quarters of our century. No other college, probably, has sent so many brilliant sons into the world outside; no other college, certainly, has contributed anything like so large a share to the governing bodies of other colleges. It may fairly be argued that the leaders of English thought—Newman, Gladstone, Ruskin—have come from elsewhere; but Balliol has had its share, and more than its share, in all the movements which the leaders have started.

Of the Oxford poets who have given voice in various ways to the unrest of the nineteenth

century, it has claimed Clough and Matthew Arnold (both scholars sent from Rugby under Dr Arnold), Calverley[1] and Algernon Charles Swinburne. It has, too, associated to itself as honorary fellow the great thinker-poet of our own day, Robert Browning (*by his son), many of whose MSS. were left by him to the Library, along with the

> "Small quarto size, part print, part manuscript,
> A book in shape, but really pure crude fact"

on which he based the "Ring and the Book." The lighter side of English verse is represented by another old Balliol man, Andrew Lang.

To the government of the country Balliol has sent the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge (*a drawing) and numerous other judges, the late Speaker, Lord Peel (*Herkomer), Sir R. Morier,* Lord Asquith,* Lord Loreburn, Lord Lansdowne (*all three by Fiddes Watt), and the late Chancellor, Lord Curzon, and Lord Milner.

To the English Church it has given two archbishops, Tait* and Temple (*copy of Herkomer) already mentioned; the latter is described in the poem of Principal Shairp on "Balliol Scholars" (along with M. Arnold, Lord Coleridge, and others)—

> "With strength for labour as the strength of ten,
> To ceaseless toil he girt him night and day,
> A native king and ruler among men—
> Small or great duty never known to shirk,
> He bounded joyously to sternest work."

[1] His name was Blayds while he was at Balliol, but he was sent down and went to Cambridge.

To the Oxford movement proper, Balliol contributed Mr William George Ward, the author of the "Ideal of the Christian Church," and Cardinal Manning (*Anderson); the struggles of the former with the master, Dr Jenkyns, form one of the most amusing chapters of recent Oxford history.

But perhaps the most important influence which Balliol has exercised on the life of our own day is that which had its source and centre in the teaching of T. H. Green, who became a fellow of Balliol in 1860, and afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy. He led the reaction against Mill and the English Rationalistic School of Philosophy, and his teaching has developed in the most various lines. On the one hand it has inspired the so-called "Lux Mundi" school of modern High Churchmen, the leaders of which, Bishop Gore and Canon Scott Holland, were both Balliol men; on the other hand Green's teaching led Arnold Toynbee, himself a lecturer of Balliol, to devote himself to the social problems of our day. Toynbee Hall, which commemorates his memory, has been largely supported by Balliol men, and it is fitting that the first student-residences in East London bear the names of "Wadham" (the college of Mr Barnett, the pioneer and organizer of "Settlements") and "Balliol." Other prominent Balliol workers for Social Reform have been the late William Rogers* of Bishopsgate ("Hang Theology Rogers") and the present Master, A. L. Smith* (F. Dodds).

VI

MERTON COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The buildings of Merton are undoubtedly the most interesting, though perhaps not the most beautiful, of the college buildings in Oxford. They begin a century earlier than any others which have survived, and in spite of restorations, still preserve in many parts their original form.

Perhaps the oldest part is the Muniment room, with high pitched roof of solid masonry, between the Front and the Mob Quads; this may have been one of the tenements purchased by the founder.

The Chapel proper seems from contemporary records to have been building between 1294 and 1297; it was still being fitted in 1306. In style it belongs to the Geometrical period of Decorated architecture. The side windows contain, nearly intact, the thirteenth century glass given by

Merton College
from the meadows
EHN.

Henry de Mamesfeld; his name can still be read. The brasses in the sanctuary are those of Wardens Bloxham (died 1387—the double one), and Sever (died 1471, the builder of the tower of Holywell Church in its present form).

The ante-chapel is later; the transepts were not dedicated till 1424, but were probably commenced at least a century earlier; the tower was completed in 1450 (at a cost of £142); it belongs to the best period of Perpendicular work. No doubt, originally, it was intended to build a nave; the western arch in the ante-chapel can still be seen. The chapel was a parish church (St John), but the parish has been united to that of St Peter in the East (1891). The sacristy was commenced in 1311; after long degradation as a brew-house, it was restored in 1886.

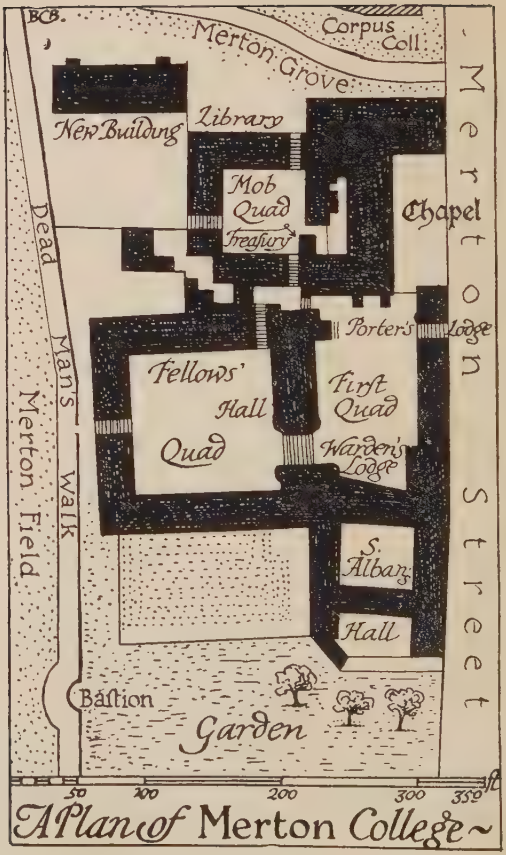
The Hall was built in the founder's time, but only the original walls have been preserved; the portals of the old gateway, however, still remain, and to one of them is attached a huge oak door, with curious ornamental iron-work. The Hall itself was ruined by Wyatt in the last century, but has been carefully restored in our own day.

The Library, which occupies the upper storey

on the S. and W. of the Mob Quad, is undoubtedly the most interesting mediæval library in England. It was built by William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, in 1377-8; the entire shell of the building, some of the glass and the cases in the W. room, and the rough benches, probably belong to this time. Some of the old fittings with their chained books are still preserved. The present ceiling dates from 1502-3, the dormer windows from the first half of the 17th century; but the old glass bears traces, in the repetition of the "Agnus Dei," of the dedication to St John the Baptist.

Of the other college buildings the oldest part is the Mob Quad, on the S.W. The N. and E. sides are probably a little later than the Chapel, the S. and W. belong to the next generation. The embattled tower in front of the college was built in 1418;[1] the statues are those of Henry III. and Walter de Merton. The front of the college was rebuilt by Sir Henry Savile in 1589. The fellows' quadrangle on the S.E. (1608 to 1610) is a beautiful example of late Gothic. Its resemblance to the quad-

[1] The sculpture over the gate is older; it represents St John Baptist in the Desert.


BCB.
Merton Grove
Corpus Coll
Merton Street
New Building
Library
Mob Quad
Treasury
Chapel
Dead Man's Walk
Merton Field
Porter's Lodge
Fellows' Hall
First Quad
Quad
Warden's Lodge
S. Alban
Hall
Bastion
Garden
50
100
200
300
350 ft
A Plan of Merton College

rangle of Wadham College makes possible the view that both were designed by Holt of York, who was certainly employed as carpenter on both (p. 261).

In 1864 Merton spoiled the most beautiful view in Oxford and their own claim to be the most beautiful college, by cutting down their "Grove" and erecting "new buildings" to the S.W. of Mob Quad, from a design of Butterfield. The vandalism of pulling down Mob Quad itself and rebuilding it was only prevented by the energy of the late Warden, Dr Brodrick.

The site of the Warden's Lodgings and that E. of old St Alban's Hall have been covered by a new Quad (Champneys, opened 1905 and 1906); part of Warden Savile's front, built in 1600, is left. The Warden now lives in the strange erection (Champneys, 1908) on the N. side of Merton Street.

MERTON COLLEGE has the honour of being the oldest in Oxford; though University and Balliol may be slightly earlier in their endowments, yet it is in Merton that the real idea of a college, as it has since prevailed, is first found, and its statutes were the model of subsequent foundations, in both Oxford and Cambridge. These statutes date in the earliest

form from 1264, in their final form from 1274; by them Merton was established with all the essentials of a college, the right of self-government and of recruiting its own numbers, the right of holding property, and, as the symbol of these rights, the use of a common seal. It was intended to be a nursing mother of the "secular" clergy of the English Church, *i.e.*, to provide men for all the professions, for it need hardly be pointed out that the clergy in the thirteenth century, besides their spiritual duties, were the civil servants, the physicians, the artists, the historians of the time. To ensure to students a fit training for these duties, the founder endowed his college with considerable estates; in wealth and dignity its members were to be equal to the great monastic foundations; but "religion," in the strict sense of the Middle Ages, was not to be their employment. In fact, any fellow who entered a religious order vacated his place. Though they were all in minor orders, as being students, yet they were not required to observe all the "hours" of the Church; and they were provided with chaplains. In the discharge of their spiritual functions it was especially contemplated by the founder that they were not to remain all their lives in his college; he charges those who rise to "more abundant fortune" to remember the institution to which they owed their first advancement.

This foundation, and those which were imitated from it, changed the whole system of

English University education; the poor clerks, living on charity, subject to little control, and constantly migrating, who had formed the majority of the early students, now tended more and more to become members of orderly and well endowed corporations. The Universities lost in freedom, but they gained in order and opportunity to study. It is to Walter de Merton* that this revolution is due; he is well called on his monument in Rochester Cathedral, the founder by *example* "omnium quotquot extant collegiorum." He was one of those great secular churchmen to whose organizing genius the English constitution owes so much, and he had played a prominent part in the struggle between Henry III. and the barons before he set himself to endow his college.

The students of Merton were to study the liberal arts and then to proceed to theology; the verbal and logical character of the mediæval education is illustrated by the story of the fellows of Merton and King Henry III. They wished to obtain leave to make a postern gate into Merton fields, and sent three of their members to the King. The first of them asked for "the making of a gate," but was at once interrupted by the second that what they wanted was not "the making of a gate," but "the gate made." "No," said the third, "we do not wish the gate made, for if it were made, it already exists in the nature of things; and then we shall have a gate that is not our own; and so we shall wrong our neighbour"; and so the dispute went on,

till the King told them to withdraw; he might grant their request when they agreed how to ask for it. This they seem to have done, as they certainly got their door. But though to us the mediæval education may seem often mere word-splitting, the great number of English statesmen and bishops who were reared in pre-Reformation Merton, shows that the founder had not worked in vain. Between 1294 and 1366 six out of seven Archbishops of Canterbury were Merton men, of whom the most famous was Bradwardine, whose name is coupled by Chaucer with that of St Augustine, as being able to "boult to the bran" the doctrines of Grace and Free Will.

Tradition ascribes to Merton the names of the great schoolmen, Duns Scotus * and William of Ockham; but as they were both Franciscans this seems impossible, in view of the founder's statutes; but John Wycliffe, the last great English scholastic, is claimed as belonging to Merton in an almost contemporary list of fellows. A long succession of mathematicians and physicians also was produced, and for this cause Merton was selected to receive the bequest of Linacre, who founded the present professorship of Comparative Anatomy. Merton during this period (in 1380) received the bequest of Wylliott, founding an order of scholars inferior in rank to those of the old foundation; they were subject to the master-fellows, and were called "post-masters," a corruption of "portionista."

One other point must be mentioned as to the fellows of mediæval Merton. They were

patrons of St Peter's in the East and lords of the manor of Holywell, then outside the walls of Oxford, and so acquired their great property there. This was managed by a bailiff, and on the marvellous series of accounts preserved in the Merton Treasury, Professor Thorold Rogers very largely based his great "History of Prices."

At the Reformation the majority of the fellows of Merton were on the side of the old religion, although Bishop Jewel and (probably) Hooper, the martyred Bishop of Gloucester, were both educated in the college. The reactionary party were led by a certain Mr Hall, who, when one of the former fellows proposed to sing round the fire on Holyday evenings the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, in place of the old customary hymns to the Virgin and Saints, snatched the book from him, and told him that "neither he (Hall) nor the rest would dance after his pipe." The feeling against the Reformation showed itself in 1562 on the election of a new Warden; Archbishop Parker as Visitor, on the ground of an informality, set aside the choice of the fellows and put in a chaplain of his own, John Mann. But when the new Warden presented himself he found the gates shut against him. Being admitted by a fellow of "a base and false spirit," as Antony Wood calls him, the Warden was hustled out again, and "'tis reported Mr Hall gave the new Warden a box on the ear." Elizabeth and Parker were not the people to submit to such a defiance; the college was severely visited, and the offenders

expelled. Warden Mann was afterwards sent on a mission to Spain, and Elizabeth was pleased to say that whereas Philip "had sent her a gooseman (Guzman) she had sent him a Mann goose."

Under Mann and his successors, especially Sir Henry Savile (*and fine monument in chapel), the college was very prosperous. Sir Thomas Bodley (*and in ante-chapel) was elected fellow in 1563, and lectured on Greek in Merton before he went abroad to serve England as ambassador and acquire that wealth to which Oxford owes her library. Under Savile the college buildings were repaired and extended; and he himself was a Greek scholar of great eminence, and was one of the translators of the Authorised Version. He was, too, a noble patron of learning, and the University owes to him the Savilian professorships of geometry and astronomy.

But the prosperity of Merton received a severe blow in the Civil War. Its Warden, Brent, was one of the few Puritans in Oxford, and fled before the King. In his place was intruded the great Cambridge scientist, Harvey,* the discoverer of the circulation of the blood; but he was only Warden for a year, and during this period the college was a court rather than a home of learning. Queen Henrietta Maria was installed in the Warden's lodgings, and the chapel was appropriated to her use, and for marriages, christenings, and such like unacademic proceedings. When finally the king left Oxford in 1646, the Hall is described as being "situ et

ruinis squalida" *i.e.*, "all dirty and knocked to pieces." Brent returned, however, and proceeded at once as head of the Parliamentary Visitors to correct the "abuses and disorders of the University." The support of Merton was most important to the Puritan cause at Oxford; at once in distinction, in wealth, and in the ability of its students, it was in the first rank of Oxford colleges.

It was during this period that Oxford's greatest antiquarian, Antony Wood (tablet in ante-chapel) matriculated. For his loving care for the history of the University, Oxford men can never be too grateful to him, although his college in his own day dealt very hardly with him, as landlord of his house (still known as "Postmasters' Hall") opposite the great gateway. Colleges have always had the reputation of being harsh landlords. Wood, among the other old customs which were put down by the Puritans as "being diabolical, Popish, and anti-Christian," records the bullying of the freshmen on Shrove Tuesday; they were compelled to make a speech standing on a form in Hall, and, if dull, to drink salted drink, "with tucks" (*i.e.*, scratches under the chin) "to boot." It must have been very like the "sing song" which once prevailed for new boys at public schools. Wood died in 1695; his life in Oxford is described by him as "a perfect Elysium," thanks to "music and the rare books that he found in the public library."

In 1661 the first "common room" for fellows was opened in Oxford, a mark of the

growing luxury, and by an innovation specially resented by Antony Wood, the new Warden, Clayton, brought a wife into college, to the great detriment of the college finances; the lady naturally wanted new furniture in the lodgings, including a looking-glass, "for her to see her ugly face and body to the middle," as the ungallant antiquary observes.

Merton now once more became a Royal residence, for the Court moved to Oxford in 1665 to escape the plague, and the Queen took up the quarters formerly occupied by her mother-in-law; the notorious Duchess of Cleveland was also accommodated in college, and there bore a son to the King. It is not surprising that Wood, writing in 1677, says solid learning was decaying in Oxford; the reasons he gives are the number of ale houses—373,—the "new coffee houses," and the "common rooms." It was Clayton who, as Warden, treated one of his fellows with such cruelty as to drive him to suicide in his own rooms.

After the Restoration Merton was one of the few Whig colleges; as such it was especially proud of Richard Steele who left Merton, where he was a postmaster, in 1694, without taking a degree, but "with the love of the whole society." The college register, in recording his gift of the Tatler (1712), speaks of him as one "quem universa Britannia jamdudum habuit in deliciis." But there is little to notice in the history of the college during the eighteenth century. It is, how-

ever, worth mentioning that Merton's beautiful garden took its present shape about the beginning of that period. The long terrace on the city wall was laid out in 1706, and in 1766 the walk below, "Dead Man's Walk,"[1] was also laid out. But the gardens at Merton seem by peculiar good fortune never to have suffered the trimming of the Dutch gardener, which was so universal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As they were at this time open to the public by night as well as by day, they had rather a bad reputation.

The period of inactivity continued longer at Merton than elsewhere, but it passed away in the first quarter of the last century. Merton in Denison* and Hamilton gave two bishops in succession to the see of Salisbury, and its fellow, Patteson (*in the ante-chapel), the martyr bishop, has left one of the noblest names in the English Church. Nor should the historian, Dr Creighton (*enamel by Herkomer), Bishop of London, be passed over. Names of a different kind, but even more known, are those of Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Chancellor Halsbury. I should like to add also that of the late Warden, Dr Brodrick (*W. Carter) to whose history of Merton I owe most of the points in this chapter.

[1] Probably so called from the tradition that Windebank was shot there for surrendering Blechington House to the Parliamentarians (1645). He himself gave the signal for the volley by waving his hat, and died crying "God Save the King." He was really shot at the Castle.

VII

EXETER COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Exeter, Balliol, and Queen's are the three "most rebuilt" colleges in the University. Of the pre-Reformation buildings nothing is left but part of the old gate Tower (1432) which is now included in the Rector's lodgings. The Hall was built in 1618, and may be compared with that of Wadham College, though it is less fine. About the same time was rebuilt the southern part of the garden front of Exeter, looking on one of the least known and most beautiful nooks in Oxford. Towards the end of the century the W. front was rebuilt, the northern part first (1671-1682), and then the Tower and the southern part (1701-3). But it is in the present century that the hand of the rebuilder has specially prevailed in Exeter; in 1834 the present W. front to the Turl street was brought into its present form (being the fourth reconstruction in

the college history). About the same time the E. part of the front to the Broad Street was put up. The interesting timber-gabled house between the N.W. corner of the college and Mr Parker's house at the corner of Turl Street, is the sole relic of Prideaux' buildings. (These lay to the N. of the present chapel close to the City Wall. They were added to by the Rector Prideaux about 1620, and were especially for the accommodation of foreigners). This house, looking on the Turl, was built in part out of the remains of the old building when it was pulled down. In 1854 the new front to the Broad Street was completed from one of Gilbert Scott's least successful designs (to say nothing harsher), in 1855 the Gothic library was built, and in 1856 the very interesting seventeenth century chapel was pulled down, and replaced by Scott's beautiful copy of the Sainte Chapelle. Lovely as the modern chapel is, it has no right to exist; the old chapel which was condemned as insecure, had to be knocked to pieces with gunpowder; it really was sacrificed to Gothic purism, like the old chapel of Balliol.

IT is somewhat curious that one of the most troubled reigns of English history, that of Edward II., saw two colleges added to Oxford within the short space of twenty years. Of these the first was Exeter College, which was founded in 1314 by Walter de Stapledon, bishop of that see. He belonged to the party of the King, and met a fate as tragical as that of his master, for he was murdered in 1326 by the London mob. His college was West country in more than name, for its fellowships were to be confined to Devon and Cornwall men; this connection has always been closely maintained. It is interesting to note that Stapledon, who was educated at Bologna, made his college, after the Italian model, very democratic in government; the Rector was only appointed for a year, and all fellows, not the seniors only, took part in elections.

A number of Exeter men were supporters of the Lollard movement, prominent among them Robert Rygge, who as Chancellor, 1381-4, vigorously championed the independence of the University, and shielded the Lollards from Archbishop Courtenay's attack. But the college was unimportant before the Reformation, and poor; to this circumstance it owes the honour of being the scene of the first Greek lectures given by an Englishman. Grocyn, though a fellow of New College, hired a room here on his return from Italy (1491-93), and taught the "new learning." But the palmy days of Exeter begin with its second foundation by Sir William Petre in 1566.

He was one of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's counsellors, and gave large endowments and new statutes to the college. A curious memorial of him is the Latin Psalter in the Library, in which, as a "Family Bible," the births of the Tudor family are recorded.

Exeter was a great home of Puritanism during the seventeenth century. Its Rector, Prideaux (1612-1642), was a man of lowly origin; he used to say, "If I could have been parish clerk of Ubber, I should never have been Bishop of Worcester"; but he was a man of learning and character. Under him the college was largely rebuilt, and was popular with the country gentry from among whom so many of the Parliamentary leaders were drawn. Sir John Eliot, the martyr of the Commonwealth, William Strode, one of the "Five Members," and the Puritan lawyer Maynard,* all were trained at Exeter during this period. So, too, was Anthony Ashley Cooper,* the first Earl of Shaftesbury, the "Achitophel" of Dryden's famous satire; he showed in college his Whig principles of resistance to oppression, stopping the bullying of the freshmen by the seniors, and preventing the fellows from "altering the size of the college beer." It is interesting to see this leader in a dinner row—a character so familiar in Oxford—developing into the popular leader on a wider field.

The Rector, Dr Prideaux, supported the freshmen against the seniors, being "always favourable to youth offending out of courage," and abolished the "foolish custom" of "tuck-

ing"; by this the skin was scratched off from the lip to the chin, and the poor freshman was compelled to drink salt and water. Shaftesbury, too, was the ringleader in the "coursing" in the schools, a very disorderly proceeding. At Exeter with him was his future colleague in "the Cabal" and subsequent enemy, Clifford. But while dwelling on Exeter's statesman, we must not forget the name of John Ford, one of the greatest of the Jacobean dramatists, who matriculated in 1601, but seems to have left without a degree.

Even more famous than Prideaux was the second great Puritan Rector, under the Commonwealth, John Conant; his discipline was famous, though carried out in ways very different from those of our own day. He would visit his students in their rooms, and if he found them "turning over any modern author," he "would send them to Tully"; if any one cut chapel, or had his battels too high, he "must atone for his fault by some exercise, for the Rector was no friend to pecuniary mulcts, which too often punish the father instead of the son." As the result of this strictness, Exeter overflowed with students. Conant is an admirable instance of the way in which the intruded Puritans continued the traditions of Oxford: he tried hard to dissuade Cromwell from making a University at Durham, "setting forth the dangers which threaten religion and learning by multiplying small and petty Academies." Conant, however, lost his place as Rector in 1662 for refusing to

submit to the Act of Conformity; his successor, Maynard, was so great a contrast, being "much given to bibbing," that he was too much even for that not very scrupulous age, and he had to be compelled to resign. His successor also was removed by the Visitor.

Exeter in the eighteenth century was one of the four Whig colleges, and gave great scandal at the hot election of 1755, by allowing the Whig voters to pass through its quadrangle to the hustings in Broad Street, and so elude a howling Jacobite mob, which was trying to prevent them voting. The Vice-Chancellor, a strong Jacobite, censured "the infamous behaviour of one college," and a war of pamphlets was the result. To this century belong Exeter's one Archbishop of Canterbury, Secker* (died 1768), and the famous Hebraist, Kennicott.*

In the first half of the nineteenth century Exeter possessed in W. Sewell one of the leading tutors in the University. He was a man of ideas, and dreamed and wrote of "University Extension" nearly twenty years before Cambridge began to carry that idea into practice. Some may think that in founding Radley School he made a more solid contribution to education. His lectures were famous in Oxford for their discursiveness: "Why does he call it lectures on Plato, on Butler, and so on, when it is all lectures on Sewell?" said one critic. It is recorded that men attended his lectures on Plato's Republic for half a term before they found out that they were not, as they thought, on St Paul's Epistle

to the Romans. At one of these lectures a book was, for the last time (1849), publicly burned in Oxford. Sewell was inveighing against "The Nemesis of Faith," and when one of his pupils confessed that he had it in his possession, Sewell snatched the book from his hand and burned it at once. By a curious chance, the author, J. A. Froude, had been elected fellow at Exeter from Oriel only seven years before. Somewhat senior to Sewell was the well-known judge, John Taylor Coleridge (*Pickersgill), the friend of Keble, who was elected fellow in 1812; thirty years after, his more famous son, John Duke Coleridge, better known as Lord Coleridge, a great orator, if not a great judge, was also elected fellow. Almost contemporary with the elder Coleridge was Sir C. Lyell,* the founder of modern geology, who owed his interest in the subject to Buckland's lectures at Oxford.[1] Another famous name in science is the zoologist, Ray Lankester (*Collier).

In our own day Exeter has been famous for its artist sons: Burne-Jones and William Morris were in residence there together in the 'fifties, and have left a splendid memorial of their connection with it in the tapestry, representing "The Visit of the Magi," which adorns part of the S. wall of the Chapel. The glass in the Chapel is all by Clayton and Bell.

[1] F. D. Maurice, the prophet of the Broad Church School, was at Exeter from 1830 to 1832, but he more properly belongs to Cambridge, where he had previously been an undergraduate, and where he was later on Professor of Philosophy.

VIII

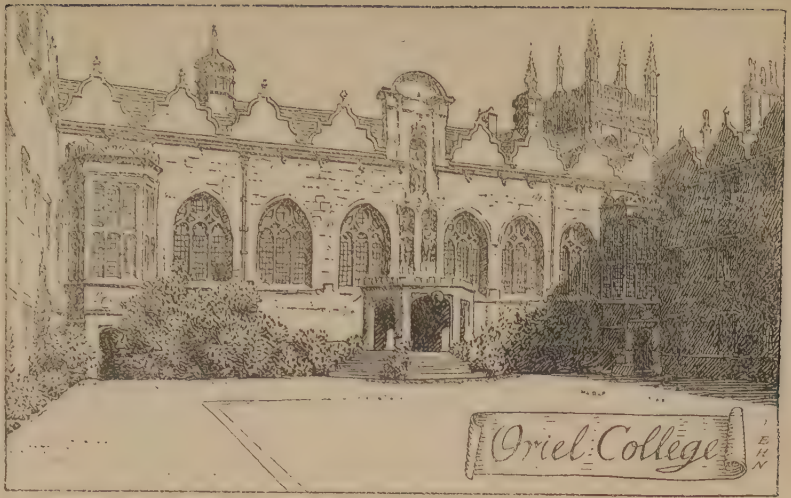
ORIEL COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Of pre-Reformation Oriel there is no trace, except perhaps part of the E. wall of the College towards Grove Street. The front quadrangle (building 1619-1642) should be compared with the contemporary quads of Wadham and University. The Hall has been well restored by Comper (1911), who added the fine wood entrance screen. The statues over the steps are those of Edward II. and Charles I. Of the garden quadrangle (lying to the N.), the E. side was built in 1719, and completed at the S. end in 1817; the W. side in 1730. The Library, on the N. side of this quadrangle, was built (1788) by Wyatt. For the High St. front see p. 101.

THE story of the foundation of Oriel reflects the troubled period at the end of the reign of Edward II. Its founder, Adam de Brome,

was that King's almoner, but about a year after he had obtained (1324) his charter, he transferred the college to the King (portrait by Hudson, 1753), who was graciously pleased to refound it (1326). Within six months, however, Adam de Brome saw that the King's fortune was waning, and the college was once more transferred, this time to the Bishop of Lincoln, De Burghersh, who was a prominent supporter of Queen Isabella. The statutes were recast by him, and the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln as Visitor was henceforth recognised, till in 1726, as the result of a prolonged dispute in college, it was decided by the Court of Common Pleas that the original statutes of Edward II. were valid, and that the college was a royal foundation. To Edward II. is traditionally ascribed the gift of the magnificent silver-gilt cup still in the possession of Oriel.

Adam de Brome was Rector of St Mary's, Oxford (the chapel on the N. side of which bears his name, as he is buried there), and obtained permission to transfer the church and its revenues to his college. Edward III., in 1328, added the Hospital of St Bartholomew at Cowley; the maintenance of the almsmen was charged on the fee farm rent of the city, and as to its payment there were frequent disputes between the college and the citizens; Oriel, too, was accused of stealing for the benefit of St Mary's the famous relic of the skin of St Bartholomew. In our own day there have been constant disputes on a more


Oriel College
J. ENN

mundane subject—the disposal of the much-increased revenues of the hospital. The royal grant was intended not only to benefit the finances of Oriel, but also to provide its members with a refuge in times of plague. For this purpose the hospital was continually used. The fourteenth century chapel is still standing, and is very picturesque.

Almost at the same time the college received a grant of the tenement known as "La Oriole," which stood on part of the present site, and probably occupied it in 1329. The meaning of the name is a subject of much dispute; most likely it refers to some architectural feature, though "*oratoriolum*," *i.e.*, oratory, has also been suggested. At any rate, almost from the beginning, the name "Oriel" supplanted the proper title of the college, "St Mary's," at first in popular usage and then in formal documents.

Oriel was very poor during the first century of its existence, but there are two episodes in its history which are of great interest. The first is the dispute as to the library which was bequeathed to the University by Bishop Cobham in 1327. He had built the chapel which still stands at the N.E. corner of St Mary's, to serve at once as a Congregation house and a Library; but he died in debt, and Adam de Brome, as Rector of St Mary's, was allowed by the Bishop's executors to redeem the books from pawn, and transfer them with the building to Oriel. After his death, however, the Uni-

versity claimed the books, and in 1337 a body of students broke into the chapel and carried them off. Some thirty years later the University proceeded to claim the building also, and the decision was given in their favour. Oriel, however, maintained its claim till 1410, when the matter was compromised; the college waived its rights, on receiving a gift of fifty marks from Archbishop Arundel, who himself was an Oriel man.

This prelate is connected, too, with the second episode. The Wycliffite party was strong in Oxford, which, as Archbishop Courtenay said, had become "a University of heresies"; but there were other causes for this beside devotion to evangelical doctrine. The old feud of North and South had become mixed up in the struggle, and men also felt that academic independence was at stake. Hence, when Arundel proposed to visit the University, the Chancellor and proctors refused to allow him to enter; and when the Archbishop laid the University under an interdict, the proctor, Byrche, an Oriel man, broke open the doors of St Mary's and said mass as usual. Arundel wrote to the King complaining of the "insolency of a company of boys"; but though the University had to give way, the Chancellor and the proctors were allowed to retain their offices. Byrche's party among the fellows of Oriel were charged with the most serious misconduct; they roamed the streets armed at all hours of the night, and had killed

several persons in a riot, while one of them, Wilton, had knocked up the Provost at 10 P.M., called him a liar, and challenged him to fight. However, nothing seems to have been done to the offenders, and the Dean of Oriel, Rote, also got off free, though he was accused of saying "The devil go with the Archbishop and break his neck." Lollardism in the end was pretty well stamped out in Oxford, but we find the fellows of Oriel, even as late as 1454, buying some of Wycliffe's works.

There is no ground for supposing that Langland, the author of "Piers Plowman," was an Oriel man, but another of the great English allegories, "The Ship of Fools," was the work of Barclay, who was at the college about 1500. The greatest name, however, by far at Oriel in the sixteenth century is that of Sir Walter Raleigh.* Perhaps it was through his connection with the college that he made the acquaintance of Harriot, who shortly after was a member of St Mary's Hall, which was largely dependent on Oriel. Harriot took part in one of Raleigh's attempted colonies in Virginia, and wrote a curious account of the natives.

In the seventeenth century the strife which was dividing England was amusingly reflected in the literary battle between two Oriel men —Prynne, the author of "Histriomastix," and his contemporary, Giles Widdowes, Vicar of Carfax. The latter had written a book called the "Lawless, Kneeless, Schismatical Puritan," and Prynne answered with "Lame Giles his

Haultings." Prynne, however, seems to have supported his old college at the time of the Puritan Visitation, and only five fellows lost their places, of whom two were afterwards allowed to return. The Puritan Provost, too, contrived to hold his office after the Restoration. Besides these who have been mentioned, Oriel trained in the seventeenth century two Lord Chief Justices, the notorious Scroggs and the respected Holt. Early in the eighteenth century, Oriel had the honour of educating Bishop Butler,* though it must be added that he was so tired of the "frivolous lectures and unintelligible disputations" which formed his college training, that he thought of migrating to Cambridge. He owed his rise from lowly birth to the golden see of Durham, not only to his merit as England's greatest Christian apologist, but also to his having known at college Edward Talbot, son of the Bishop of Durham, and brother of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who had himself been at Oriel fifteen years before. Almost equally well known is the name of Gilbert White of Selborne, who held his fellowship for fifty years; he held also a small college living, but, according to the fashion of the time, was non-resident. He served the University as proctor in 1752, and in 1757 stood for the provostship of his college, but without success.

But it is with the close of the century that Oriel suddenly rose under Provost Eveleigh to be the most intellectual college in Oxford. No conditions of residence had been attached to the

Founder's fellowships, and hence, as soon as elections were fairly conducted, Oriel had the best men in the University as candidates, and for fifty years an Oriel fellowship was the "blue ribbon" of the Oxford graduate world. It was an Oriel fellow, Arnold,* who reformed the public school system, and to Oriel belonged that marvellous group of men, who in various ways were to renew the life of the Church of England. Pusey went from Oriel to his professorship at Christ Church; Keble* was elected fellow in 1811, though he did not reside long; Newman (*Ouless) became fellow in 1822, and it was at Oriel that he met Whately* (afterwards Archbishop of Dublin), who exercised, by repulsion, so strong an influence on his mind. It was the Provost, Dr Hawkins, who first planted in his mind the idea of "tradition" in Church matters, and who afterwards, by depriving him of his tutorship, struck so serious a blow at the prosperity of his college, and altered Newman's whole career. It was from the pulpit of the college living of St Mary's that Newman exercised the most important part of his wonderful influence.[1] Bishop Wilberforce

[1] Keble's rooms were "up one pair of stairs, on the left," in Staircase No. 2. Newman's were the corresponding rooms in No. 3, first floor to the right. He succeeded Whately, and found the last of his herrings still hanging from a string; the frugal future Archbishop had always cooked his own breakfast. Under Newman's rooms were those of Dean Church. Dr Pusey's rooms were in No. 1 Staircase, first floor to the right, and were subsequently occupied by Fraser,* the great Bishop of Manchester.

and his brothers, Hurrell Froude, and R. W. Church (afterwards Dean of St Paul's), all belong to the same period. Of a different school were the Balliol scholar poets, Clough and M. Arnold (*Lowes Dickinson, in Common Room) who became fellows of Oriel.

It is tempting to speculate what might have been, had Keble been elected Provost in 1828, as he almost was; his successful opponent Hawkins presided over his college for fifty-four years; he found it unquestionably the most distinguished body in Oxford, he left it—like any other college. But even under his rule Oriel produced distinguished men, such as *"Tom" Hughes, the creator of "Tom Brown," and Viscount Goschen, our late Chancellor; while the late Mr Cecil Rhodes (*Tennyson Cole) seems likely to take high rank among the builders of the Empire, and in Oxford his memory will be cherished as a munificent benefactor.

Closely connected with Oriel College in history, and now finally united to it, is St Mary Hall, which lay on Oriel Lane, nearer the High Street. The buildings are very picturesque, especially the curious block with hall below and chapel above at the S.E. corner; this is not the least interesting of the many buildings put up in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the chapel there is an interesting tomb of an eighteenth century principal, the great Jacobite, Dr King, in which he records "that though he had faults, he had also merits," and ends that "though he had not

despised death, he had not feared it." He deserves to be remembered not only as one of the last adherents of the Stuarts in Oxford, but also as having built the east side of his Hall. The modern parts of St Mary's Hall were (1910) pulled down to make room for the new front of Oriel (Champneys) on the High.[1] St Mary's Hall is most famous for its students in Reformation times,—Sir Thomas More, the flower of English wit and scholarship, and Cardinal Allen, its principal, the founder of Douai College and leader of the English Romanists abroad. *John Hunter, greatest of English surgeons, resided in the Hall for seven weeks in 1755 as a commoner, but he declined to be "made an old woman of" or to "stuff Latin and Greek," and he "cracked the scheme like so much vermin." In our own day the Hall has been consecrated by the memory of the martyr bishop, Hannington.

It is sad that modern "reform" has swept away all the old halls of Oxford—except St Edmund—and has thereby removed the relics of the earliest[2] stage of the University, when colleges still were not.

[1] The statues on the front are those of Rhodes, of Kings Edward VII. and George V., and (going from W. to E.) of three 15th-century provosts and Cardinal Allen. Those inside are of the Founder, Butler, Newman, and Arundel.

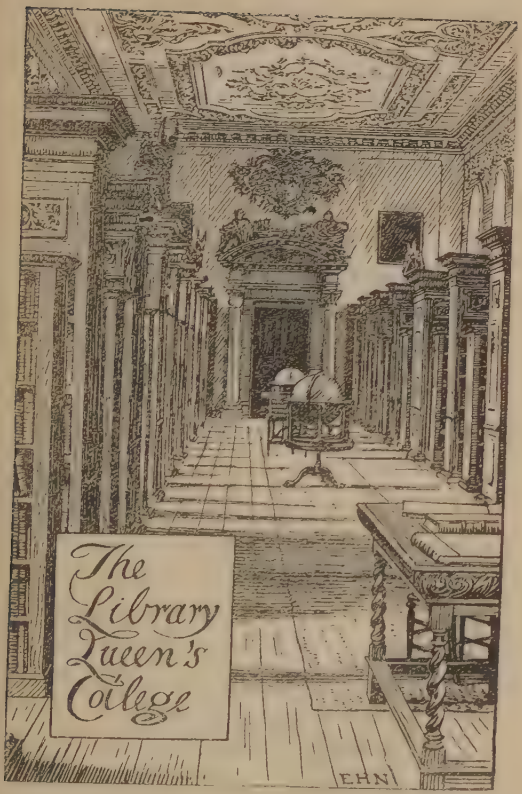
[2] The halls were voluntary associations for convenience of residence; the principal was elected by all the members. Their distinguishing mark in recent times has been the absence of any body of fellows; the principal is chosen by some outside authority.

IX

QUEEN'S COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Medieval Queen's has completely disappeared, nor has even the original arrangement of the parts been preserved; only the entrance in Queen's Lane remains where it has always been. The oldest part of the present buildings is the East side of the back quadrangle, which dates from the time of Charles II.; this quadrangle was finally completed by the Library which was begun in 1693 and completed in 1696. The upper part of this building is probably the most ornate classical room in Oxford, and has a fine plaster ceiling and elaborate carving (by G. Gibbons). The collection of books disputes with those of Christ Church and All Souls the honour of being the best college library in Oxford.

The Hall of the College was begun in 1713, and the foundation stone of the chapel laid in


The Library Queen's College
EHN

1714; the front quadrangle was not completed till after 1730; the earliest part of it was the West side with its cloister, which was finished in 1710. This quadrangle was built by Hawksmoor, Wren's pupil; the master himself designed the Chapel, and thought it one of his best works. The front quadrangle of Queen's shares with Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church the distinction of being the finest piece of college building in Oxford in the Italian style.

The chapel windows are interesting; the two western ones on each side contain glass of the early sixteenth century, and the rest seventeenth century glass by the younger Van Linge, but they were largely "restored" by Price when transferred to the new chapel (1717).

By a curious fatality the west wing of the front quadrangle at Queen's has been twice the scene of a fire, once in 1778, and again in 1886. It was on the former occasion that the Provost of the day, Dr Fothergill, nearly lost his life for the sake of decorum. He was sought for in vain, and had been given up, when he suddenly emerged from the burning pile, full dressed as usual, in wig, gown and bands.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE was (from the first) stamped with a marked character by its founder; it was more distinctly religious than the older colleges, and its fellows were expressly required to take holy orders. This character was symbolically carried out in the arrangements prescribed by its statutes. The Provost and twelve fellows were to correspond in number to our Lord and his apostles, the "seventy disciples" were represented by the "poor boys" whose education was provided for, and who were to be "opposed," *i.e.*, questioned in their studies, by one of the fellows every night before they were allowed to dine. The arrangement of the Provost and fellows at dinner was the traditional arrangement of the Last Supper, and their robes were to recall the colour of the blood of the Lord.

It may be more than accident that this quaint symbolism is markedly preserved in Queen's. Still, on January 1st, the Bursar presents to each guest at the Gaudy, a needle and a silk thread, of the colour of his faculty, with the words: "Take this and be thrifty"; the needle and thread (*aiguille et fil*) are said to be a pun on "Eglesfield," the founder's name. Still, on Christmas Day, the college celebrates the "Boar's Head" dinner, with the old carol—

> "The boar's head in hand bear I,
> Bedecked with bays and rosemary."

This is said to commemorate the presence of mind of an early Queen's man who, being

charged by a wild boar on Shotover, choked it by stuffing his "Aristotle" into its mouth, while he shouted "*Græcum est!*" Still every night, as from the founder's time, the fellows are summoned to dinner by the sound of the trumpet, and the old name for the boys, *i.e.* "Taberdar," is preserved for the eight senior scholars, and in the title of the Junior Common Room.

The founder's arrangements were very minute and full, and ranged from the direction of the students' studies to the washing of their heads; for this latter purpose a barber was provided, as one of the long list of college servants. There were also minute arrangements as to discipline; no bows and arrows were to be allowed to the fellows, nor might they have dogs in college; all musical instruments, too, were forbidden, except at special times of common recreation. For these, however, due provision was made; and the college still uses the magnificent loving-cup, given it by the founder, consisting of an aurochs' horn mounted in silver gilt—probably this has been in constant use longer than any other plate in England. Another curious arrangement of the founder was the appointment of a night watchman, whose duty it was to "whistle at the usual times in the night, that the students might know when it was better to sleep and when to work." In one respect Queen's marks an important departure in University history; it was the first college in which arrangements were made for the systematic instruction of non-graduate students. The "poor boys" are a more direct

anticipation of the modern "scholar" than had previously been made; and it is at Queen's that the word "Fellow" (*Socius*) is first distinctly used for a *full* member of the society.

The founder, to whom all these elaborate arrangements were due, was a North-country priest, Robert Eglesfield, chaplain of Queen Philippa. The benefit of his foundation was practically restricted to his own part of the world, and Queen's has retained, even in spite of recent changes, a more strongly marked local connection than any other college. Eglesfield was conscious that his own means were inadequate to carry out his scheme fully, and he commended his college to his royal mistress. The connection thus established with the queens consort of England has always been maintained; Queen Henrietta Maria,* Queen Caroline (wife of George II.), Queen Charlotte, and of Queens regnant, Elizabeth, who gave the name "Queen's" and the present seals, are prominent in the long roll of college benefactors.

Queen's is famous in University history rather for her distinguished sons, than as the scene of any events of special importance. The rooms were, at first, more than adequate for members of the foundation, and hence distinguished lodgers were taken in; it was in this capacity that Wycliffe, perhaps, resided there on his return to Oxford, after he had resigned the Mastership of Balliol. Nicholas of Hereford, who aided him in translating the Bible, was a fellow, and the Provost and three fellows were expelled

as Wycliffites in 1376. They took away with them the common seal and various jewels and keys, and the college had some trouble in recovering the missing property. Other distinguished lodgers, according to tradition, were Edward, the Black Prince, and King Henry V.; of the latter, there are two interesting memorials, an early portrait on glass in the Library, which describes him as "*hostium victor et sui*," and a most interesting contemporary picture in the Common Room.

In the seventeenth century, it was a fellow of Queen's who planned the fortifications of Charles round Oxford; and the college complained that, while it had loyally done its share of these, the men of Magdalen had neglected theirs, and prayed to be freed from such ineffective coadjutors. It gave the King 193 lbs. of plate, more than any other college except Magdalen and All Souls.

In the Revolution two Queen's men played prominent parts on opposite sides. Compton, the Bishop of London, who presented his college with an organ, was one of those who invited William III. over, and afterwards crowned him; while Cartwright,* the time-serving Bishop of Chester, was a prominent member of the High Commission Court, and one of those who, by his subservience, lured James II. on to his ruin.

Immediately after the Revolution the college had the misfortune to be robbed by Magdalen of its most distinguished son, Joseph Addison,* who migrated on being offered a demyship

by the President of Magdalen. By a curious fate the most famous poet of Queen's, William Collins, migrated to Magdalen forty years later in a precisely similar way. But though Addison left Queen's, his friend Tickell (*by Kneller) remained. Queen's, too, had the doubtful honour of training the dramatist Wycherley.

In the eighteenth century Jeremy Bentham, who was at the college, speaks in the most bitter terms of it; he learned nothing, he said, except "mendacity and insincerity." As, however, he took his degree (1763) at the age of sixteen, he is perhaps not a witness to be treated very seriously. A large amount of interesting information as to the college is to be found in the letters of a much more obscure student, John James, who resided at Queen's from 1778 to 1782. They have been published by the Oxford Historical Society, and show how, even in the idle days of the eighteenth century, men worked hard and read widely.

Two other distinguished students of this period were William Mitford, the first scholarly historian of Greece, and a vigorous Tory, and Francis Jeffrey, the first editor of the great Whig review.

It was in the eighteenth century that Queen's received the splendid benefaction of Lady Elizabeth Hastings,* the object of Steele's oft-quoted panegyric, "To love her is a liberal education." She set about forwarding this in a more practical way by leaving her estates in South Yorks to Queen's College, to found five exhibitions of £28

a year each for the scholars of certain North-country schools. Her expressed expectation that the estate would increase in value from its mineral wealth has been realised; some twenty-five scholarships of £100 a year each are now given. The arrangements of the will of "Lady Betty," as she is lovingly called in the college, are still largely maintained, but not in one point. She provided that the names of the eight best candidates should be put in an "urn or vase," and that those which were drawn out first should be duly elected; this arrangement "left something to Providence," and was arranged by her on the advice of the learned and pious Bishop Wilson. It was last used in 1859, when the hat of the Provost's servant did duty as a "vase." In our own day the late Archbishop of York, Dr Thomson,* was successively Tutor and Provost of Queen's. According to a college tradition he owed his success in life to a musical man in the rooms above, who was so trying that, according to Oxford custom, the future Archbishop proceeded to "rag" him. For this he was sent down by the college for a term, and so had time to turn over a new leaf and begin to work. His rooms in the back quadrangle are commemorated, according to the laudable custom of Queen's, by an inscription over the door.

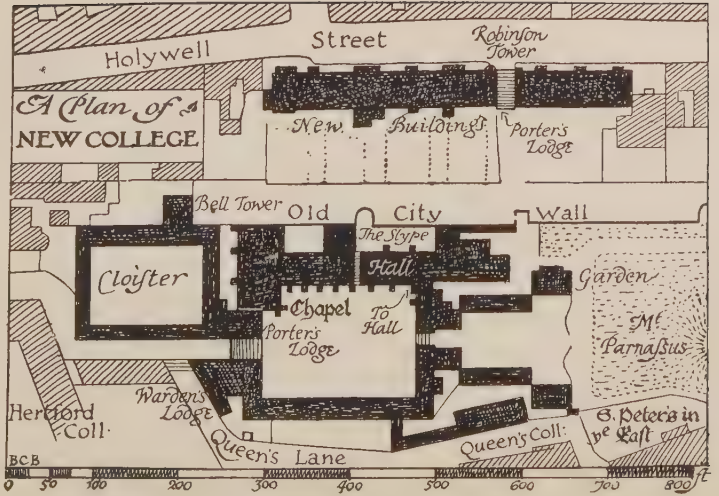
Queen's in our own day has been prominent in the encouragement of "Research" in Oxford: A. H. Sayce* (Fiddes Watt) was a pioneer in the rediscovery of the Ancient East, and Professors Grenfell and Hunt have founded a new

science by their work on the Egyptian papyri. Closely connected with Queen's is St Edmund Hall, the last representative of pre-Collegiate Oxford (*cf.* p. 13). Queen's has retained the right of nominating the Principal, a right which in the other Halls had been usurped by the Chancellor.

It is uncertain whether this foundation commemorates the teaching of the learned and saintly Edmund Rich,[1] afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the first-known D.D. of Oxford. Certainly no part of its picturesque group of buildings is older than 1450, and most of them date from the middle of the seventeenth century. St Edmund Hall was the subject of one of the most famous controversies of eighteenth century Oxford. Six students were expelled as "Methodists" in 1761, and a war of pamphlets ensued, with picturesque titles such as "Goliath slain." Hearne, the Jacobite sub-librarian of the Bodleian, dear to all antiquarians for his learned publications, and to all students of literature for his voluminous and racy diary, was a member of St Edmund Hall, as was also, at a slightly earlier period, Sir Richard Blackmore, the dreariest writer who has found his way into the collection of "English poets."

[1] Hearne at any rate did not accept the tradition.

NOTE.—In the alterations at Queen's in 1905 consequent on the introduction of the electric light, a vault under the old chapel was opened; the brasses of several early provosts were found and have been placed in the apse of the chapel, while their tombstones are fixed in the ante-chapel.


A Plan of
NEW COLLEGE
Holywell
Street
Robinson Tower
New Buildings
Porter's Lodge
Bell Tower
Old City Wall
The Hype
Hall
Cloister
Chapel
To Hall
Porter's Lodge
Garden
Mt Parnassus
Hertford Coll.
Warden's Lodge
Queen's Lane
Queen's Coll:
S. Peter's in the East
BCB
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 ft

X

NEW COLLEGE

BUILDINGS. — William of Wykeham housed his society in a way so magnificent that comparatively little change has been made in his buildings. The Chapel, Hall, front quadrangle, cloisters and bell-tower are all original, though the cloisters and the bells were not consecrated till 1400, fourteen years after the rest. The Chapel has been restored of recent years to something of its original magnificence by the replacing of the open timber roof (about 1880) and of the statues in the reredos (completed 1894). The glass in the ante-chapel [1] is the finest in Oxford, dating from the foundation, except the West window, which was inserted (1782) from a design by Reynolds (he has painted himself as one of the shepherds on the left). Fine as it is, it was unpardonable to tamper with the original tracery, as was done.

[1] The brasses in it are the finest in Oxford.

In the chapel proper, the windows on the S. side were finished by Price (1737-40), but are traditionally assigned to pupils of Rubens; the much inferior ones opposite were made by Peckitt of York (1765-1774). In the Hall the fine linen-pattern panelling was the gift of Archbishop Warham, and resembles that of Magdalen. The proportions of this room, otherwise the most beautiful in Oxford, are spoiled by the too great space above the windows; the roof is modern—an early work of G. Scott. In the front quadrangle the harmony of the founder's design was ruined in the seventeenth century, by the addition of a third storey, and by the modernization of the windows.

Since the Founder's time, the back quadrangle has been added, expanding picturesquely in imitation of the palace at Versailles; it was finished in 1684. The new buildings in Holywell St., the most terrible of all the outrages on modern Oxford, were the work of Sir Gilbert Scott (1872-6), and even more recent is the house at the East end of these (1886), which was designed by Mr Champneys. The front to Holywell St. was made (1898, see p. 129)

New Coll:

continuous. The Gardens are remarkable for Mount "Parnassus" (said to have been erected for Charles' artillery, but certainly older), and for the beautiful angle of the City Wall.

WILLIAM of Wykeham, the "sole and munificent founder of the two Saint Mary Winton colleges," is the greatest name on the roll of Oxford founders; his work at Oxford was not so important as that of Walter de Merton, but he is much better known for his career as a statesman than is the founder of the college system; he plays a less important part in English history than does Cardinal Wolsey, but his work in Oxford remained, while Wolsey's was marred by his autocratic master. He was a great statesman-ecclesiastic, who rose to distinction as surveyor of Edward III.'s building operations; the Castle at Windsor especially was half rebuilt by him. In fact, had he not been a statesman and a founder, he would have been remembered as an architect; the Perpendicular style may have been devised at Gloucester, but it was Wykeham's work in Winchester Cathedral and in New College, which first showed the magnificent possibilities of this most characteristically English of Gothic styles. For this devotion to building he was attacked by Wycliffe, who says that patrons will present a man "wise of building of castles or worldly doing, though he cannot read well his psalter." Wykeham, in fact, was one of

the greatest pluralists of the time, and generous as he was, he can hardly be considered to have been a great spiritual force in any sense of the word; but he was merciful and tolerant in days when the clergy were beginning to persecute, he was a champion of English liberty against the reckless encroachments of John of Gaunt, and above all, he profoundly influenced English education by his colleges. He saw that the ravages of the Black Death had terribly thinned the ranks of the clergy; he saw that men everywhere were beginning to question the order of things established in Church and in State; he saw that the religious orders were false to their professions, and therefore he designed to apply some of his great wealth to training men for the Church. There is an interesting and almost contemporary portrait of him in the Warden's lodgings (not generally shown to the public), while on the left hand of the sanctuary in the chapel can be seen his magnificent silver-gilt crozier; his chantry and altar tomb in his cathedral are well known.

With his college at Winchester we have nothing to do here, except so far as it was to be, and has been, the training school for his Oxford students; but it was in itself the more important of his two foundations, and has served as a model for the English public-school system. His college in Oxford bears the significant title of "New"; hitherto Merton had been *the* college, of which all others were comparatively feeble copies; now it in turn was quite eclipsed. It is a striking testimony to the age of Oxford

that its "New College" has celebrated its five hundredth anniversary.

William of Wykeham obtained his college charter in 1379, but it was not till April 14, 1386, that his society, which had been in existence for ten years or more, at the neighbouring Hart Hall and elsewhere, took solemn possession of their new home, entering "with cross erect, and singing a solemn litany."

Wykeham's foundation only marked the final triumph of the system which Walter de Merton had begun, but in several points it was a new departure. It was more religious than any of the previous foundations except Queen's; not only were its fellows required to take orders as soon as possible, but the members of New College had to go to mass daily—the first instance of daily "compulsory chapel."

Again the new foundation was on a scale of magnificence far exceeding even Merton. Ample provision was made for the Warden, who was to have the state of a great abbot; his house over New College Lane is still the most beautiful in Oxford, and he was allowed six horses. Special grants too are made for guests at the High Table. It seems curious that ladies were frequently entertained at this in the fifteenth century; but in some respects the fifteenth century was more lax (or shall we say "more reasonable"?) than the nineteenth.

Educationally, Wykeham's great innovation, apart from the connection which he established between his colleges at Winchester and at Ox-

ford, was the provision which he made for definite instruction within the walls of his college. Hitherto, with the unimportant exception of the "boys" at Merton and at Queen's, all students had obtained their teaching in the public "schools" of the University; by Wykeham's arrangement, the younger of his scholars were to go to an elder (as "informator"), and special fees were paid to those who discharged this duty. In this way was founded the system of tutorial instruction which has gradually superseded the general teaching of the University. No doubt, in the end Oxford suffered from the development of this system, which, till quite recent years, made the college everything, and the University nothing; but in the fourteenth century the teaching of "the schools" was becoming mechanical, and hard to maintain, and the early Wykehamists gained greatly by the special instruction which was provided for them.

The college statutes are most minute in their orders as to the conduct of the students, being more than three times as long as those of Merton. All amusements seem barred—not only the "shooting with arrows, stones, or other missiles," and "illicit games, especially those played for money," but even games at chess or with ball. The founder thinks it necessary to prohibit "dancing, wrestling, or other incautious or inordinate games" in Hall. The only recreation which he allows his scholars is that on festivals, round the fire in Hall, they may,

after their meal, indulge in "singing or reading chronicles of the realm and wonders of the world." Wykeham's motto, "Manners makyth Man," which is still retained by New College, is typical of the college system, which he did so much to establish.

The first Warden of Winchester, Cranley (his brass is in the college chapel), who was afterwards Warden of New College, became Archbishop of Dublin, and his success was but one of many among the early Wykehamists. Chichele,* founder of All Souls, and Warham (*after Holbein), patron of Erasmus, became Archbishops of Canterbury. Almost equally famous is William of Waynflete,* the founder of Magdalen. But more important, from an educational point of view, is the connection between New College and the early Renaissance. Warden Chandler, himself no mean scholar, brought into the college as "Prælector" of Greek the Italian, Vitelli, one of whose pupils, Grocyn, was the first Englishman who lectured on Greek at Oxford; he had the great Erasmus for a hearer, and was the honoured friend of Colet, the Dean of St Paul's. Erasmus says of him that he published nothing but one epistle, "for he had so nice a taste that he would rather write nothing than write ill," an excuse which has often been alleged since for the non-productiveness of Oxford's most learned and honoured sons. Another Wykehamist, Stanbridge, was Master of Magdalen College School, and so a leader in the

movement for bringing the "new learning" down from the University to the school-room. Above all, in Warham* the Archbishop, Humanism found a "truly royal patron"; for, again to quote Erasmus, "he let no (scholar) leave him disappointed." "All who have gathered good from my writings must thank him for it."

In spite of this devotion to the new learning, New College was strongly opposed to the changes of the Reformation. Its Warden, Dr London, was rash enough to write warmly in praise of the Catholic orthodoxy of Wolsey's new foundation, Cardinal College; but he was one of the foremost in hunting down heresy when it declared itself there, "puffing, blustering, and blowing like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey" (as he is described in the pathetic narrative of Dalaber; see p. 27); he even used astrology to track out the fugitives. In his own college he confined one of his fellows, Quinley, in the Tower, till he died of cold and hunger. When he was dying, his friends were admitted to him, and asked him if he could eat anything. "A Warden pie," was his grim reply: when they took him to mean a "pie of baked pears," he explained that he wanted the "Wardens of Winchester and New College baked," and then "after his prayers, slept sweetly in the Lord." London afterwards degraded himself by serving as Henry's tool in collecting evidence against the monasteries; but he came to a bad end, for, being convicted of

Bell Tower
New College

In the Civil War, New College suffered severely; Antony Wood, who was a boy at its choir school, relates how the "scholars did sometimes train in New College quadrangle"; as might be expected, there was "no holding of the schoolboys in their school in the cloister"; "some of them were so besotted with the training—that they could never be brought to their books again." The school was soon turned out of its place, when the King put his magazine in the Cloister and Tower, and moved to "a dark nasty room" at the E. end of the Hall, "which made the scholars often complain, but in vain." When Oxford surrendered, almost a clean sweep was made of the members of the foundation, but as Wykehamists were nominated in their places the Puritan party gained little; when the new Warden, who was not a Wykehamist, "sconced" (*i.e.*, fined) the fellows for cutting the long Puritan prayers, the college remitted the sconces, and in 1654 Evelyn found the college chapel "in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times."

In the final struggle for English liberty two of the "seven bishops" were New College men, Ken,* Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Turner,* Bishop of Ely, and Holloway, the only Judge who boldly defied James II. by declaring the law of England to be on the side of the Bishops, was a fellow Wykehamist.

New College now fell on evil times, and it is in the eighteenth century that the proverb with regard to it was especially true, that "it had

golden scholars, silver bachelors, and leaden masters." This was the natural result of a system, which guaranteed to a well-trained boy a provision in life as soon as he had passed from Winchester and obtained his scholarship at Oxford. But in Bishop Lowth,* New College furnishes one notable exception; his lectures, on the Poetry of the Hebrews, delivered as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, were the foundation of the scientific criticism of the Old Testament. He records his obligations to his University in a fine passage, which expresses the feeling of many Oxford men: "I enjoyed all the advantages, both public and private, which that seat of learning affords. I spent many years in that illustrious society in a well-regulated course of useful discipline and studies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of gentlemen and of scholars; in a society where emulation without envy, ambition without jealousy, contention without animosity incited industry, and awakened genius, where a liberal pursuit of knowledge and a genuine freedom of thought was raised, encouraged, and pushed forward by example, by commendation, and by authority."

A New College man of the same spirit as Lowth, though of less genius, was the learned editor of the Septuagint, Dr Holmes; yet how different he was from the majority of his contemporaries among the fellows may be seen from the story of the competition between New College and All Souls as to the merits of their negus. The question between the brews was so

even that the common room men of Queen's and B. N. C. had to be called in as judges, and gave the preference to New College.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century New College sent forth a student whose views differed widely from the then prevailing tone in Oxford; Sydney Smith* was a bold reformer of abuses in the days when the Church of England generally was identified with the blankest Toryism; but, unfortunately, there are few Oxford traditions as to this, the wittiest of her sons.[1]

The nineteenth century has seen the removal of the two abuses which in the previous period had done so much to spoil the efficiency of William of Wykeham's College. The rights of "founder's kin" were at last swept away, although the first attack on them, that of the Wykehamist, Augustus Hare, joint author of the "Guesses at Truth," had been in vain. Equally important was the voluntary renunciation by the college in 1834 of the curious privilege which its fellows had enjoyed of taking degrees without examination. The origin of this is somewhat technical, but is a notable instance of how the best statutes, if literally observed, may come in process of time to defeat their own object. The founder had forbidden his scholars to avail themselves of any of the "graces," or dispensations from University lectures and duties, which were so frequent as short cuts to the mediæval degree. Gradually

[1] He was one of the first presidents of the Junior Common Room.

these lectures and duties had become a pure form; but when Laud in the seventeenth century, and the famous statute of 1800, substituted real examinations for the old forms, the degenerate Wykehamists still claimed exemption; hence, what the founder had meant as a security for industry, became a shield for idleness.

In 1857 a further reform was carried out by the University Commission. Only half the fellowships are now reserved for Winchester men, while there are a few open scholarships; but Wykehamists may boast, with good reason, that the strength of New College lies in its connection with its sister foundation. Its motto is still the "Manners makyth Man," given to the scholars of St Mary Winton by their founder.

In our own day the whole character of the college has been changed; from being a small foundation, consisting almost entirely of scholars, it has become one of the largest in Oxford, and the Winchester element is comparatively small; typical of the new order is Lord Milner, elected as fellow from Balliol in 1877, whose portrait (*M. Balfour) in Hall was presented by Wykehamists who served under him in S. Africa.

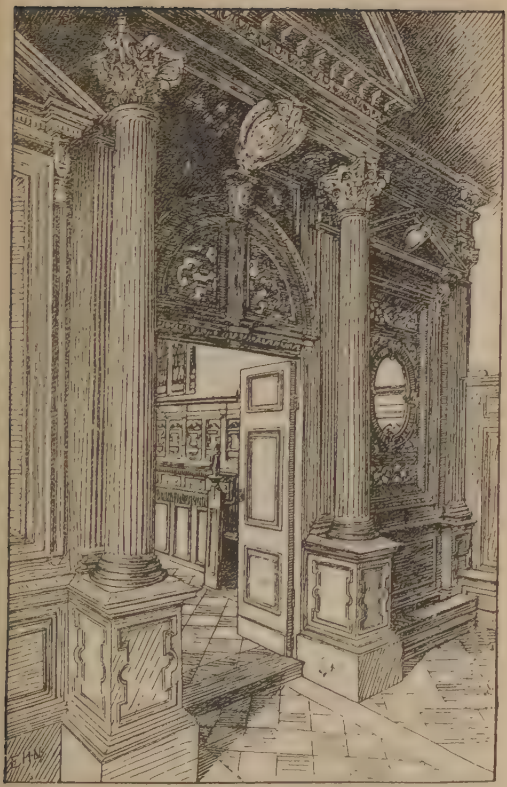
NOTE.—The newest buildings, facing Holywell Street, have been ingeniously joined to the older ones by a fine tower (1898), called the "Robinson" tower: it is a memorial of the late bursar, whose premature death in 1895 was one of the greatest losses of modern Oxford. His portrait (Herkomer) hangs in the Hall, and his statue adorns the inner side of his tower.

XI

LINCOLN COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The tower and the rooms over the gate date from the Founder's time. Immediately after were added the N. side of the front quadrangle and the Hall. In 1464 the Rector's house, at the South end of the Hall, was begun by the executors of Bishop Beckington; his rebus, a "beacon in a ton," can still be seen on the S. side of the quadrangle, though this building itself is later, having been put up by Bishop Rotherham about 1475.

The Chapel was consecrated in 1631, and the whole of the second quadrangle dates from about the same time, *i.e.*, 1610-1631. In spite of the injudicious addition of the battlements, which are modern, the front quadrangle at Lincoln is one of the most pleasing examples of pre-Reformation domestic architecture which Oxford possesses. The Chapel is distinguished



THE SCREEN, LINCOLN COLLEGE CHAPEL

by its wood-carving, and by its contemporary glass, which tradition says is foreign. The new Library (Read and Macdonald) to the S. of the College is much admired.

THE crushing of the Wycliffite movement early in the fifteenth century marks the close of intellectual activity in mediæval Oxford; but colleges continue to be founded, two of these, Lincoln and All Souls, are more reactionary in character than any of the earlier foundations. The founder of Lincoln College, Richard Fleming,* Bishop of Lincoln, had been once a Lollard sympathiser; he was a leading man in Oxford, and as Proctor had drawn up the copy of the old statutes, which the University still possesses. But advancing years, and possibly advancing fortunes, brought with them greater caution, and almost in the last year of his life, 1429, Fleming founded his "little college of theologians," "to defend the mysteries of the sacred page against these ignorant laics, who profaned with swinish snouts its most holy pearls." It is a curious irony of fate that by far the most famous scholar of Fleming's "little college" is John Wesley, the Wycliffe of the eighteenth century. Lincoln College at first had for the chief part of its endowment the revenues of the three churches, St Michael's, All Saints, and St Mildred's, which were impropriated by the founder for its benefit; the college still has the patronage of the two first of these, while St

Mildred's has disappeared to make way for the present buildings. Scanty as the revenues were, they were coveted by the greedy courtiers of Edward IV., and as the college had obtained its charter from Henry VI., it might have gone hard with it under his Yorkist rival, had not George Neville, Archbishop of York and brother of the king-maker, Warwick, interceded. Even then the college was not secure, but it found another and even more efficient protection in Rotheram,* Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York; this prelate is accused by some of a share in the intrigues of Richard III., but as a pious founder he takes a high rank in both the Universities. His sympathy with Lincoln was moved by the sermon which the Rector preached before him; taking as his text Psalm lxxx. 14-15, "Behold and visit this vine, and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted," he drew so touching a picture of the state of the college, that the Bishop at once promised to undertake its protection. He was as good as his word; he gave it a new charter and new statutes, he increased its revenues, and completed its buildings. Henceforth it is no longer a struggling foundation, but takes its definite position as a college in the University.

As in most of the Oxford colleges, the majority at Lincoln was against the changes of the Reformation; there is a pathetic interest in the record of the Register as to the death of Queen Mary, the only record which relates to events outside the college, and unconnected

with it: "In the year of our Lord, 1558, and in November, died the lady of most holy memory, Mary Queen of England, and Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury. At this date the following were Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College." The last entry seems to imply that the members of the foundation felt that the deluge was upon them; and they were right, for the Rector and his two successors were all in succession deprived, and two of them, Babington and Bridgwater, had to flee to their Roman Catholic friends beyond sea. So low was the college brought that in 1606 only the Rector and three fellows remained. But eight more were then elected at once, of whom the most famous was the last on the roll, Robert Sanderson, one of the greatest names in Oxford theology and logic; in the very next year he was made lecturer in logic. As a student he was remarkable, for he read regularly eleven hours a day; his compendium of logic was still studied in Oxford at the end of the eighteenth century; while his character and piety fitted him for the part of mediator between the opposing parties in the Church, though unfortunately his efforts were without success. He has left an enduring mark in the service of the Church of England in the stately eloquence of the Introduction to the Prayer Book ("It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England"), which was written by him.

Lincoln, like so many other colleges in

Oxford, increased in numbers and buildings during the days of the Laudian reform. The benefactor of the college, however, was Laud's rival, the Lord Keeper Williams,* the last ecclesiastic who had that high office. In spite of its increasing wealth the state of discipline at Lincoln seems to have been far from satisfactory; the college record tells of "most cruel and barbarous assaults," not only of B.A.'s on undergraduates, but of the fellows on each other; in 1636 it records that "Mr Kilbye's face was sore bruised and beaten," but the fellow who had done the mischief, Mr Webberley, seems to have got off easily, only paying "the charge of the surgeon for healing of Mr Kilbye's face." It would seem as if the whip of the Sub-Rector must have been allowed to lie idle; this scourge of four tails is still preserved in college (a genuine mediæval relic), though it serves only as a symbol of authority, and no longer as an instrument of government.

But a better period was beginning for Lincoln, during which it was under the government of a succession of strong and good Rectors. The first of these, Nathanael Crewe,* was only Rector for four years (1664-1668), but he ranks high among the benefactors of his college and the University. It is said that his liberality was to have been extended to rebuilding the whole college, but fortunately the fellows offended him, and mediæval Lincoln was spared. Mr Andrew Clark, the learned editor of Antony Wood, draws attention to the curious fatality which

has made his college quarrel with benefactor after benefactor: Bishop Smith, the founder of B. N. C., had intended to have benefitted Lincoln, and the famous Dr Radcliffe, who was a fellow of Lincoln, transferred part of his benefactions to his old college of University, which he had intended to give to his new college."

During this century of good government, Lincoln was the home of many famous scholars; Hickes,* the non-juring Dean of Worcester, whose monumental Thesaurus is still (after two centuries) a standard work, and Potter (afterwards of University College, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury) were both fellows. But it is not by its men of learning that a college is remembered, and the most glorious name on the roll of Lincoln at this period is that of John Wesley, who was elected fellow in 1726. For nine years he lived in college, occupying, according to tradition, the rooms over the passage from the first into the chapel quadrangle: in the Hall is preserved the portrait of him, which has been recently acquired by the college; though much damaged, it is especially interesting, as being the only likeness of him in his youth, while still a tutor at Oxford.

It was during this period of quiet work that Wesley and his friends and followers gained the name of "Methodists," from the care with which they observed all the services and duties prescribed by the Church; the first duty performed by Wesley as fellow was to preach

the college sermon on Michaelmas Day, 1726, at St Michael's Church. Nor did he neglect the cultivation of his mind: he was repeatedly appointed lecturer on Philosophy and on Greek, and his own scheme of reading is extant, which assigns the first two days of the week to Classics, Wednesday to Natural Philosophy, Thursday to Hebrew and Arabic, Friday to Logic and Metaphysics, and Saturday to Rhetoric. Besides this fairly extensive programme, he studied Divinity on Sunday, and Mathematics all the week. It is, perhaps, not fanciful to think that to this period of quiet thought and study, Wesley owes the special feature which distinguishes him among reformers; that feature is the combination of the fiery zeal and eloquence which could move thousands, with the organising power which could knit those who had been moved into a great system. Wesley's period at Lincoln was to him all that St Paul's sojourn in Arabia was to the great apostle of the Gentiles. Wesley himself, though naturally he differed in his religious views from his contemporaries, speaks well of the Rectors of his day, and of the college work.

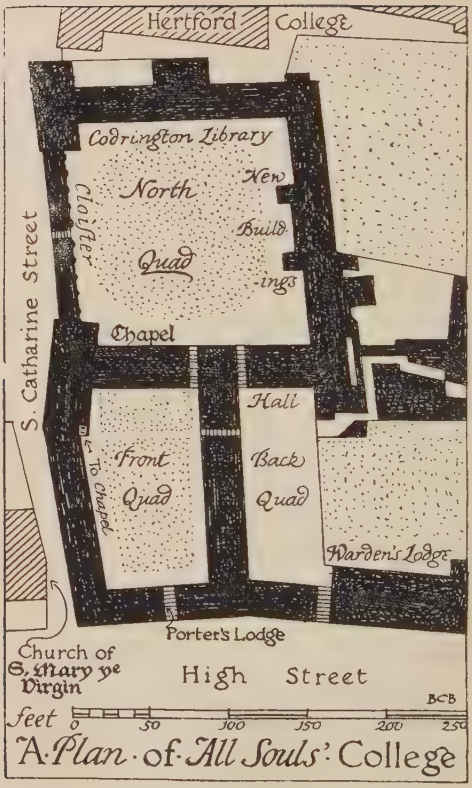
The period of decline which befell most colleges in the eighteenth century was postponed at Lincoln, but came at the close of the period, during the long Rectorship (over forty years) of Tatham. Of his eccentricities, many stories were told, *e.g.*, how he preached at St Mary's for two and a half hours, thereby causing the death of a head of a house, who insisted in

sitting it out. Towards the close of his life, he lived away at Twyford, and never came into Oxford without bringing some of his pigs for sale. Just before his death, Lincoln, which before had possessed no poet but Charles II.'s laureate, Sir William Davenant, had the honour of matriculating Robert Montgomery. This gentleman is, perhaps, the most striking example of the bad taste of the public, which the annals of English literature can show; he believed himself, and was believed by thousands, to be a second Milton, till Macaulay smashed his pretensions in his well-known review. An amusing practical joke on Montgomery's colossal vanity was played while he was at college; when in for "Smalls," he was actually persuaded to go and ask the Vice-Chancellor that his *viva voce* might be deferred to late in vacation, to avoid the inconvenient crowd which was sure to throng to hear the "distinguished poet" examined. The Vice-Chancellor's answer is not recorded.

As a result of the remissness of the college management under Tatham, Lincoln lost its claim to a large sum of money which had been invested in government securities, when the old garden, lying to the W. of the college, was sold soon after 1771.

Lincoln, however, revived under the tutorship of Mark Pattison* (Rector 1861-1884). His memoirs give a brilliant, though bitter, picture of Oxford in his own day, when he was a leader in the Liberal movement that has transformed the

University. It is a pity that he spoiled his example of what a great scholar should be by systematic neglect of his duties as Rector. To this last period of the college history belong the names of Lord Morley (J. Collier), the biographer of Voltaire and Rousseau; and of J. C. Morison, the biographer of St Bernard. It is sad that the ill-health and premature death of the latter, and that the claims of politics on the former, robbed English literature of historical work of permanent value; but in his biography of his friend and leader, Mr Gladstone, Lord Morley returned to his real vocation. The late Sub-Rector, Mr Warde Fowler,* has a literary reputation which is rare in modern Oxford; his works on Roman history and Roman religion (on which he was the greatest authority in England) may appeal only to the few, but his "Tales of the Birds" mark him out as the most sympathetic student of bird life of our day. The late Rector, Dr Merry (* C. Johnson) as Public Orator preserved the Old Oxford tradition that Latin should be a spoken as well as a written language, and by his speeches enlivened the official dulness of many Commemorations.


Hertford College
Codrington Library
North Quad
New Buildings
Cloister
S. Catharine Street
Chapel
Hall
Front Quad
Back Quad
Ent. To Chapel
Warden's Lodge
Porter's Lodge
Church of S. Mary ye Virgin
High Street
BCB
feet 0 50 100 150 200 250
A Plan of All Souls' College

XII

ALL SOULS COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The front quadrangle remains as the Founder left it, except that the old windows were cut square in the seventeenth century. The front towards the High Street and St Catherine's Street was refaced in the early part of this century, but the original carving over the gateway remains, representing the souls in Purgatory. The Chapel, however, has been very much restored. Its interior was wrecked by the Visitors of Edward VI. in 1549, and seems to have remained almost a ruin for a century. After submitting to a seventeenth century "restoration," it has been "gothicised" again in our own time, but the general effect outside is cold and hard. Much of the glass in the ante-chapel is contemporary with the Founder, and one window—that on the north—contains excellent portraits

of him, of Henry V., and Henry VI.; these windows, however, were originally elsewhere. In the Chapel the stalls and desks with the *misereres* are original, but somewhat restored.

The great reredos can only claim to be a conjecture of what the Founder's work may have been. After remaining a ruin for more than a century, it was plastered up in the reign of Charles II., and covered with a sprawling fresco. The very existence of any reredos was forgotten, till in 1870 some workmen repairing the roof, found some of the remains behind the plaster, especially the crucifix at the foot and the great beam with the old inscription, "Surgite mortui, venite ad judicium" at the top. From the fragments the present reredos was reconstructed in memory of the heroes of Agincourt and their contemporaries; the great figures on each side of the crucifix are those of Henry VI. and Archbishop Chichele. The restoration has a special interest, as the faces of the statues are portraits of members of the college; the late Dr Max Müller appears as a bishop and the late Warden as an earl. The tradition goes that a belated fellow applied

The Radcliffe Libz
from All Souls Coll:

at the last moment for a place, and was told the only one left for him was among the "lost souls." The "Noli me Tangere" of Raphael Mengs, which now hangs in the ante-chapel, was once the altar-piece.

The first additions to the college were made by Warner, the Warden at the time of the Reformation. He added the buildings in the side quadrangle, which look on the High Street; the first-floor rooms, which used to be occupied by the Wardens, are perhaps the finest set in Oxford. They were completed by Warden Hoveden (1571-1613), who redecorated the beautiful lecture-room, once the Library, on the E. side of the quadrangle. The present Hall was begun in 1729 (its handsome windows (Powell), representing college worthies, are the gifts of living All Souls men), and the E. side of the North quadrangle a little earlier. The great Library dates from 1716, but was not finished for forty years; it is the finest room, in the Italian style, belonging to any college in Oxford; it is 200 feet long, but hardly suffices for the 100,000 books which All Souls now possesses. The collec-

tion is especially rich in works on law and history, and was in 1867 generously opened to strangers, who, after proper introduction, can obtain leave to read in it. The quadrangle was completed by the addition of the cloister along St Catherine Street about 1734. The twin towers are the work of Nicholas Hawksmoor, Wren's pupil, and in spite of their oddity and their quaint disregard of all the traditions of the Gothic style, to which they profess to belong, are really effective. They are said to be a copy of his own work at St Anne's Limehouse. Hawksmoor deserves to be remembered, were it only for his letter to the fellows of All Souls, in which he rebukes them for their proposal to rebuild the old part of their college, "erecting new, fantasticall, perishable trash." It is rare for an architect to show such self-denial. The Warden's lodgings to the east of the college were added in the same period.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE is, in more senses than one, a daughter of New College. Its founder, Archbishop Chichele, was an early Wykehamist, and his work was manifestly inspired by that of his own benefactor. His college,

however, emphasizes especially a side of medieval thought, which though always present, had not been made so prominent in any previous foundation; it was a chantry as well as a college, and was especially designed to benefit the soul, not only of the founders, but also of the most "illustrious Prince Henry, late King of England, . . . and of the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, and others, who fell in the wars for the Crown of France." Hence its full name is the "Collegium Omnium Animarum Fidelium Defunctorum."

It was not without reason that Chichele thus commemorated his dead friends and countrymen, for he himself had been prominent in urging on the war which began so gloriously at Agincourt, and was ending so disastrously, when he obtained his charter in 1438; the buildings were occupied in 1442. A considerable part of the endowments was derived from the "alien priories," which had been suppressed in the reign of Henry V. Thus Oxford, for the first, but by no means for the last time, gained at the expense of the religious orders.

Chichele associated the King, Henry VI., with himself as co-founder, much as Adam de Brome had done at Oriel (p. 92); but All Souls found that there was dangers as well as advantages in royal founders, for King Edward talked of confiscating the endowments given by his Lancastrian predecessor, and was only appeased by a share in the college prayers and a considerable sum of money down. All Souls, at this time, was in considerable resort as a place of pilgrimage, for we find

in the accounts an entry for over 9000 wafers at one single obit.

Chichele's college played a prominent part in the beginning of the Revival of Learning: two of its fellows, Linacre* (portrait after Holbein) and Latimer, were among the foremost Greek scholars of the day. The scientific eminence of Linacre reminds us of a fact, too often forgotten, that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Greek was important as the key not only to the most perfect literature in the world, but also to stores of scientific and medical knowledge which were not accessible elsewhere. Thus the works of Galen, which Linacre translated, were far more practically useful than mediæval treatises on medicine. Linacre founded, and was himself the first president of, the College of Physicians, and gave his own University the endowment which now supports the Chair of Comparative Anatomy. All Souls, at this time, and for long after, was especially connected with science and medicine, and shares with Wadham in the seventeenth century, the honour of Sydenham, the greatest of English physicians. This connection has left its mark on the college library in the unusual number of early medical works which are on the shelves.

In the stormy times of the Reformation All Souls suffered terribly; the Edwardian Visitors of 1549 smashed the glorious reredos and the organ, one of the earliest in England; and on the accession of Elizabeth, the college, after a hard struggle, was forced by Archbishop Parker

to give up almost all of its splendid chapel plate and vestments as being Popish. In other respects, however, the Protestant rulers were not unfavourable to the efficiency of the college: the iconoclastic Visitors endeavoured to enforce the Founder's intentions as to the poverty of candidates for fellowships, and Cranmer is the first of the long series of Archbishops of Canterbury, who as Visitors endeavoured to crush the system of "corrupt resignations" of fellowships. This evil is found in other colleges in Oxford, but was perhaps most rampant at All Souls; by it a fellowship was treated as a possession of its holder, to be transferred for money, just as commissions were sold in the English army down even to our own day. When a fellow resigned, the rest of the body elected his nominee as a matter of course, since they all hoped, when their time came, to make a similar bargain for themselves. The evil was not finally suppressed at All Souls till the time of Archbishop Sancroft.

Cranmer sought to amend his college in small things as well as great; the fellows had been keeping dogs and wearing quilted silk gowns; all these frivolities the Visitor strove to put down.

The career of Warden Warner, who presided over All Souls from 1536 to 1565, is very characteristic of the attitude of the mass of the English people, and of Oxford as a typical community, during that period of religious change. He held office alike under the auto-Catholic Henry VIII., the Protestant Edward VI., the Roman Catholic Mary, and the Anglo-Catholic

Elizabeth, only retiring for the last two years of Mary, and even then he continued to live in Oxford. Nor must it be thought that he and others like him were indifferent to all but their places; they seem rather to have thought that the government of England and of the University must be carried on somehow, and that it was better to acquiesce in minor differences of creed than shipwreck everything. Of a similar common-sense or compliant character was another famous All Souls man of this period, Sir William Petre, the "second founder" of Exeter College. Strong hands were needed for college government in Tudor times, for the sovereigns were not very scrupulous in dealing with subjects' property; but All Souls was successful in wresting the parsonage and tithes of Stanton Harcourt even from the great Elizabeth herself, while the college absolutely refused to grant to one of her favourites a lease of all their woods for a beggarly £20 a year, though they were bullied by no less a person than Sir Walter Raleigh, who expressed himself much surprised that "subjects of your quality" should presume to refuse the Queen anything.

At this period All Souls actually had a number of undergraduates,[1] and Archbishop Parker proposed to endow exhibitions from the King's School, Canterbury; but his death cut short the proposal, and the undergraduates died out after the Civil War. The college remains, as Mr Rashdall

[1] They were, however, all servitors of the fellows, except the four bible-clerks, who still exist.

says, "to remind us that colleges in their origin were designed to be primarily bodies of students and not bodies of teachers."

The greatest of All Souls wardens is undoubtedly Sheldon, who held the post during the troubled times of the Civil War. He was one of the leaders of Oxford during the golden age of Laud, whom he ventured to resist when that vigorous reformer for once proposed to commit a job, and to introduce a Cambridge graduate to All Souls by a "corrupt resignation." The Archbishop of course triumphed, and All Souls owes to this job the honour of numbering among its members the English Chrysostom, Jeremy Taylor.*

Sheldon was a distinguished member of the brilliant and learned circle which used to meet at Lord Falkland's house at Great Tew, as Clarendon describes in his history; but the Civil War swept all this away: Sheldon was expelled, with the majority of his fellows; some even of the college servants were deprived of their places rather than submit. The sculpture over the gate of the college was preserved at this time in a curious way; Alderman Nixon, a well-known Puritan in the city, and the college grocer, interceded for it, and prevented its removal.

Of the fellows elected under the Commonwealth, by far the most famous was Sir Christopher Wren,* who came from Wadham in 1653. He erected the great sun-dial which still adorns the back quadrangle, with its motto

"Pereunt et imputantur" ("They pass away and are counted against us"); so correctly is this constructed that before the days of telegraphic communication, the Oxford watchmakers used to set their clocks by it. He bequeathed to the library, too, a splendid collection of his architectural sketches, which illustrate, even more than his completed works, the marvellous fertility of this greatest of English architects.

After the Restoration, if the letter-writers, Prideaux and Hearne, may be trusted, there was a scandalous falling off in discipline and learning at All Souls. Prideaux tells a story how the fellows of that college actually employed the new Clarendon Press to reprint for them a set of indecent Italian engravings (by Marc Antonio), though their attempt was frustrated by the vigilance of the Vice-Chancellor. But it is certain that the college still continued to elect men of distinction, and it was by the liberality of its own sons, admitted during this period, that the buildings of All Souls were so largely increased early in the eighteenth century. Foremost among these was Christopher Codrington,[1] the munificent founder of the library, a man who was with some reason considered by his contemporaries a kind of "Admirable Crichton"; he served with distinction in William III.'s campaigns, was an elegant scholar, and besides his benefaction to All Souls, left the great Codrington College in

[1] His statue is in the Library.

Barbadoes to assist the work of the Church in the West India Islands, of which he was Governor.

But the Stuart period had one more indignity in store for the college. James II. insisted on nominating as Warden the disreputable Finch, whose only claim to distinction was that he had enlisted a company of volunteers to aid in suppressing Monmouth's rebellion. The service of this gallant company had been to occupy Islip, and when the victory of Sedgmoor had been gained, to dine with Lord Abingdon, and return to Oxford "well fuzzed with his ale." The drum which was stove in on this drunken march remains to this day in the All Souls Bursary. Finch, as Warden, behaved as might have been expected—jobbed, drank, and died with the bailiffs in his house.

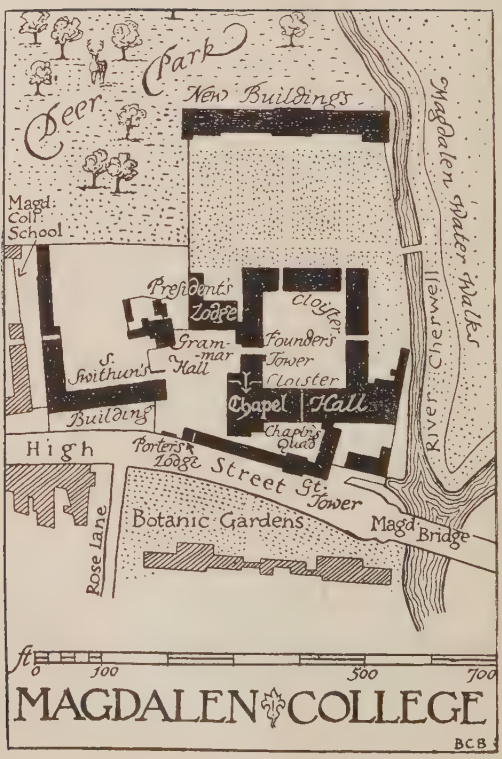
In the eighteenth century the college became a kind of snug family party; it was at this period that the gibe became current that the fellows of All Souls had to be "bene nati, bene vestiti et modice docti," *i.e.*,

> "well born, well drest,
> With moderate learning for the rest."

But even at this period the college boasts famous names, two Lord Chancellors, Lords Talbot and Northington, Young* the poet, whose sonorous lines were once so popular, but whose practice unfortunately was not as good as his preaching, and the great Blackstone,* whose Commentaries in their original form were professorial lectures at All Souls. Blackstone

seems to have been the first to introduce the system still prevailing in Oxford by which the fellows lay down wine for the use of themselves and their successors; previously according to his admiring biographer, they "had to go to the tavern across the street and drink bad wine." Finally in the opening years of this century, Reginald Heber,* the author of "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," and himself one of the greatest of missionary bishops, was among the fellows of the college. In our own day the various Royal Commissions have dealt kindly with All Souls. It still remains an anomalous society, which like many other anomalies, does excellent work. Probably no college in Oxford has been able to elect a more brilliant series of fellows than All Souls has done of recent years; the late Chancellor, Lord Salisbury (whose fine portrait by Richmond has the place of honour in the Hall) is the type of man whom All Souls has delighted to honour.[1] And to those reformers who demand more distinctly educational work, the college can make answer by pointing to the fact that in its halls and lecture rooms more men daily receive instruction than in any other college in Oxford, and that its library was the first in the development of which specialization was introduced; to quote the words of our great Law Professor, Sir Henry Maine, "without the arrangements which All Souls has made, legal studies in the University would have been difficult, if not impossible."

[1] Our late Chancellor, Lord Curzon (László), and Dr Lang, Archbishop of York (*Fiddes Watt), were also fellows.


Deer Park
New Buildings
Magdalen Water Works
River Cherwell
Magd: Coll: School
President's Lodge
Cloister
Grammar Hall
Founders Tower
Cloister
S. Swithun's Building
Chapel
Hall
Chapins Quad
High Street
Porter's Lodge
St. Tower
Botanic Gardens
Magd Bridge
Rose Lane
ft
0
100
500
700
MAGDALEN COLLEGE
BCB

XIII

MAGDALEN COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Of the old hospital which was on the site before William of Wayn-flete founded his college there are remains in the Chaplains' Quadrangle, the entrance to which lies on the right immediately on entering the college. The whole has been renovated and rendered uniform, but part of the wall dates from the thirteenth century. The Pilgrim's gate in the High Street has long been closed with masonry.

Most of the buildings stand on the same sites, and very much in the same shape, as they were left by the Founder.

The chapel was finished before 1483, and the fine sculpture over the W. doorway represents Edward IV. on the right of St Mary Magdalen; the other figures are St John and St Swithun, and the Founder kneeling on her ex-

treme left. The interior of the chapel has suffered terribly from the religious troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and may be said to have been entirely renewed in the restoration of the first half of last century. The seventeenth century stalls were then removed to the S. end of the ante-chapel. The glass of the windows in this part, representing a very curious series of saints, dates from about 1635, but the big west window, of the Last Judgment, which is of the same date, was much injured by the great storm of 1703, and was largely repainted when restored in 1794. The picture over the altar may very probably be a genuine work of the Spanish master, Valdez Leal. The little chapel on the N. side of the altar is sometimes called the Founder's Oratory, though with no special reason: in it is the fifteenth century tomb of Richard Patten, the father of William of Waynflete, which was transferred to Oxford on the destruction (in 1820) of the old church of Wainfleet in Lincolnshire.

The chapel Tower, *i.e.*, the famous Magdalen Tower, is rather later than the rest of the chapel;

Magdalen
Coll. Tower

it was begun in 1492 and finished in 1507, and seems to have been intended originally to stand alone. Traditionally it is said to have been designed by Wolsey,* who was twice bursar during the progress of the work. It is very tempting to connect Oxford's most magnificent ornament with her most magnificent son; but nothing can be said for certain except that Archbishop Parker's scandal as to Wolsey's embezzlement of college funds is demonstrably untrue.

The Hall was spoiled for many years, from an architectural point of view, by the insertion of a plaster ceiling, one of Wyatt's many outrages on Oxford. For this has now been substituted, with great success, an open oak roof, designed by Bodley on the lines of the original roof. The panelling of the Hall, of "linen-fold" pattern, is said to have come from Reading Abbey; the screen at the entrance is the finest specimen of Jacobean wood-work in Oxford.

The Founder's Tower, the Cloisters, and the rooms above them were certainly part of the Founder's work, though the strange "hieroglyphs" which have puzzled so many antiquaries

are a little later—*i.e.*, about 1509—and the buildings were very largely renewed in 1822 and the following years, *e.g.*, the north side towards the New buildings was rebuilt. One more piece of Waynflete's buildings remains—*i.e.*, the quaint little block with the small bell tower which lies on the left, immediately opposite the entrance from the High Street. This still bears the name of "Grammar Hall," in commemoration of the fact that it originally formed part of the Magdalen School.

The imposing new buildings, looking on the college deer-park, were built in 1735, and St Swithun's Buildings, looking on the High Street, are the work of Mr Bodley (finished in 1884); rather later are the President's Lodgings, abutting on the Founder's Tower. The good genius of Magdalen College has been triumphant to the last (except perhaps in the War Memorial); it was fitting that the most beautiful modern buildings in Oxford have been added to the loveliest group of old Oxford. The gateway on the High Street dates also from the same period. Before leaving the buildings, the Hall of Magdalen College School must be mentioned, which lies

between the College and Long Wall Street; for it is one of the most pleasing pieces of modern Gothic in Oxford, and was erected by Mr Buckler in 1851; the house (Sir A. Blomfield, 1894) lies on the E. of the bridge.

MAGDALEN is "the most noble and rich structure in the learned world," says Oxford's most devoted lover, Antony Wood; its water walks are "delectable as the banks of Eurotas, where Apollo himself was wont to walk." In Magdalen, if anywhere, might the Platonic dream be realised as to the influence of beauty in education, for here there is beauty on every side; even the most devoted son of the college can hardly say that the dream has always been realised.

The Founder, to whose wealth and architectural genius the college owes its existence and its beauty, was one of the last of the clerical Chancellors of England; as Mr Rashdall observes, since "Chancellors ceased to be Churchmen, and became married men," their fortunes have not been spent on public objects.

William of Waynflete may have been a Wykehamist; at all events in his statutes he both imitated William of Wykeham and gave special privileges to the men of New College; but this may have been due to his having been headmaster of Winchester, from which post he was transferred by Henry VI. to the headship of the new college of Eton. The result of

this position is that the Eton lilies passed into Waynflete's arms, and so into those of his college, Magdalen.

He began his schemes in 1448, but his foundation was then placed on the S. side of the High Street, about the site of the present Schools. It was only in 1457 that he obtained his present site by impropriating the old Hospital of St John the Baptist, which stood outside the E. gate; the ground, once the Jews' garden, had been given by Henry III. to the Hospital (1237). In the buildings of this hospital the new society was temporarily lodged, and received their charter of foundation in 1458. But it was some years before the magnificent scheme of Waynflete could be carried out; the Yorkist family succeeded to power, and the bishop was "in great dedignation with Edward IV.," and had to go into hiding. However, after some years, he received his pardon; his chapel was begun in 1474, and he himself seems to have superintended the buildings, which were almost complete before his death in 1486. Their occupation dates from 1480.

In the statutes, which were given by the Founder in 1483, one or two new points appear. The system of teaching within college walls, which had been begun by Wykeham (at New), is now carried much further. Waynflete not only provided a grammar master and an usher for his demies—*i.e.*, the members of his foundation who were admitted at twelve, and who received only *half* the allowances of a fellow—

The Founder's Tower
Magdalen Coll.
E.H.N.

but also three lectureships in Theology, Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy; one of these courses seems to have been delivered at the terrible hour of 6 A.M. This is the more surprising as the lectures were open to the whole University, and the B.A. members of Corpus were compelled to attend them.

The second point of innovation is the direct admission of "gentleman commoners" to share in the educational advantages of the college. In previous colleges those not on the foundation, if admitted at all, were, with a few exceptions, merely lodgers; Waynflete expressly authorises the admission of "twenty high-born youths, who were not merely to board, but to be educated in college."

The high position of the Founder brought his college into the full sunshine of royal patronage: as early as 1481 Edward IV. came over from Woodstock and slept at Magdalen, where he took part in the chapel service next day. Two years later Richard III. paid a similar visit, and was entertained by disputations, in which the famous scholar Grocyn took part. The King was so pleased that he presented the disputants and the college with "five bucks and five marks for wine." Naturally, as Wood says, "the muses crowned his brows with fragrant wreaths for his entertainment." Nor did the Tudors frown on Magdalen; Prince Arthur, Henry VIII.'s unlucky elder brother, was three times entertained there; when he first came he was

only ten years old, and we find the college investing in "two animals called mermosetts," perhaps for his amusement. Of Arthur's connection with Magdalen there is a splendid memorial in the tapestry preserved in the President's lodgings, which represents the marriage of the Prince with Catharine of Aragon.

Tradition, too, connects Henry VII. with the hymn still sung every May morning on the Tower; but for this view there seems to be no real authority. The present hymn is part of the college grace, and seems to have only been introduced into the May morning music in the eighteenth century. Probably the singing was at first not a religious ceremony at all.

The Stuarts, too, sent an heir-apparent to Magdalen in Prince Henry,* son of James I., who, like Prince Arthur, was never destined to ascend the throne; when King James brought his son up he pronounced the college to be the "most absolute building in Oxford." It would have looked odd to modern eyes, for the authorities, to do the King honour, had painted the "hieroglyphics" of the cloister, giving Moses in particular a "blue robe": in our own day it is only the junior part of the colleges which paints the statues. Another royal member of Magdalen was Prince Rupert (*M. Wright), Charles I.'s nephew and cavalry leader. But the college had much more to distinguish it than royal favour. It was, with New College, the special home of the early Revival of Learning in Oxford; the first three "schoolmasters" of the foundation were

the leaders in the educational reform which drove out the mediæval grammar of Donatus, and substituted a more rational system. We can only mention John Anwykyll, the first of the three, and the famous Lily, whom Colet chose to be head of St Paul's School, and parts of whose Latin grammar held their place in the English public schools down to our own day.

And to turn to the studies of the older generation, a college which in its first ten years numbered among its members Grocyn and John Colet*—afterwards Dean of St Paul's—was brilliantly fulfilling its purpose. Magdalen, in fact, was the chief home of that specially "Oxford Reform" movement, which aimed at purifying the English Church by reason and by sound scholarship; of this movement John Colet was the spiritual leader, and his lectures on the Romans were the beginning of a movement, which unfortunately was not to succeed. We are therefore not surprised to find that the cultured and gentle Reginald Pole,* the last Roman Archbishop of Canterbury, who himself had been a reformer, was at Magdalen; it was in Magdalen, too, that Foxe* and Wolsey* found the heads for their new foundations, Corpus and Cardinal Colleges, which were to be especially the homes of the new learning. Both these great founders, patrons of scholars if not scholars themselves, were Magdalen men, and Wolsey was for a time the Master of the school; but his rise was so rapid that he soon had to forsake his

books for affairs, and it was rather in promise than in performance that he can be called

"A scholar, and a ripe and good one."

Even at this period, however, there were grievous quarrels in the College. The Visitor was compelled to investigate strange charges, *e.g.*, that one of the fellows had baptised a cat with a view to discovering hid treasure; but Stokesley, the incriminated person, cleared himself, and afterwards became a Bishop of London, and a vigorous opponent of Cranmer.

The storm of the Reformation fell furiously on Magdalen; not only was the chapel wrecked, but it was even proposed to suppress the endowment for the choir, which from the first has been one of the peculiar glories of the College; fortunately this was prevented, as was also the attempt to plunder the School. The citizens of Oxford especially pleaded that the "more part of them were not able to bring up their children in good learning" without college endowments. Their children had had "meat, drink, cloth, and lodging of the said college, and were very well brought up in learning, and so went forward and attained to logic and other faculties at the charges of the said college . . . and little or nothing at the charges of their parents." They plead, therefore, for "the only school of all the shire," and their prayer was heard, and the school was spared. It was in this half-century that it had its most famous pupil, William Tyn-

dale, whose translation is the foundation of the larger part of the Authorised Version.

Magdalen passed rapidly from adherence to the old form of faith to extreme Puritanism. Laurence Humphrey, the President in Elizabeth's time, carried his scruples so far that he objected to wearing his proper academical dress; on this Queen Elizabeth gently rallied him, when, on her visit to Oxford, he was for once persuaded to don his Doctor's scarlet: "Dr Humphrey, methinks this gown and habit become you very well; and I marvel that you are so strait-laced on this point—but I come not now to chide."

There was a striking contrast between the President and some of his pupils. Lyly, the author of Euphues, went to Magdalen in 1569; as might have been expected of so "noted a wit," he "neglected his studies," and, it is sad to say, still owed his college 23s. 10d. for battels ten years after he had gone down. Equally unruly in another way were the scholars who poached on Shotover in 1586; when one of them was arrested and imprisoned by Lord Noreys, his fellows attacked that peer when he came to Oxford. A free fight ensued, in which the scholars were driven back down the High Street, though not till several of them had been hurt, and "Binks, the Lord's Keeper, sorely wounded." Even after this the Magdalen men could not "pocket the affront," and from the vantage ground of the top of their tower, pelted with stones the offending lord and his retinue as they rode out of Oxford, and in spite

of their putting "boards and tables" on their heads, wounded some and "endangered others of their lives."

It was during this Puritan period in the college that John Hampden* was there; for, Royalist as Oxford was, all the great parliamentary leaders, except Cromwell, were her sons. But the influence of the Laudian party prevailed at last when Accepted Frewen became President; he was actually consecrated Bishop in his own college chapel, and lived to become Archbishop of York after the Restoration. But his decorations to his chapel, except the windows of the ante-chapel, which still survive, were smashed by the Puritan soldiers, and the college organ went to delight Cromwell at Hampton Court. It afterwards returned to Oxford, but has now been superseded by a larger instrument, and is in use in the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury. Of Puritan Magdalen, Addison gives an amusing picture in his *Spectator*. The candidate for examination is confronted by the Head (Dr Goodwin, one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines) with "half-a-dozen nightcaps," instead of a college cap, on his head, and a "religious frown on his countenance." The candidate's Latin and Greek stood him in little stead; he was to give an account of the state of his soul, and of his conversion. . . . The whole examination was summed up with one short question—"Was he prepared for death?" Needless to say, the candidate was plucked.

As Magdalen had suffered so much for the

Open Air Pulpit
Magdalen College

royal cause, it might have expected to prosper after the Restoration; but gratitude was never one of the Stuart virtues, and with James II. everything was subordinate to his blind zeal for his faith. When the President of Magdalen died in 1687, the King sent word to the fellows that they were to elect Antony Farmer, a man of notoriously bad character, who had been expelled from Trinity, Cambridge, and from Magdalen Hall, before he was admitted to Magdalen College. He had become a Romanist only to serve his own interests, but James was not particular in his instruments, and when the fellows elected Dr Hough * they were summoned before the High Commission Court and browbeaten by Jefferies. Finally the King himself came down to Oxford; he gave up Farmer because his character was too bad, but he now ordered the fellows to elect Dr Parker, the Bishop of Oxford. This new candidate was a man of better character; but he, too, like Farmer, was not qualified, as he had never been a fellow of either Magdalen or New College. The fellows pleaded this, and that they had already statutably made their election; but the King persisted, and the fellows were expelled; only three submitted. Most of the demies, too, though offered fellowships at once, refused to accept them, and were turned out. Few things did James more harm than this insane conduct; men saw that no loyalty, no previous service, no limitations by statute could prevail against royal caprice, and they

began to look abroad for a deliverer. Only when too late did the King recall his act; and on October 25, 1688, he restored the expelled President and fellows; that day henceforward has been observed by the college as "Restoration Day," when the toast for the evening is appropriately "Jus suum cuique."

Magdalen may be said to have had its immediate reward for this noble instance of loyalty to duty and self-denial in the so-called "Golden Election" of demies, which happened next year. Among those then chosen were a future archbishop, a future bishop, the notorious Henry Sacheverell,* who overthrew the greatest ministry which has ever ruled England, by his fiery eloquence, and Joseph Addison.* This famous writer commemorated more than one part of his college, *e.g.*, the bowling green, in elegant Latin verses; but his memory there survives in that part of the water walks which then existed, and which is still known by his name, *i.e.*, the part which lies to the left on entering; the circuit was completed later. The glorious period of the history of Magdalen as a college ends here. Since then, though it has had famous individual members, its history, till our own day, is almost a blank. Fortunately the lack of funds prevented the carrying out of the terrible scheme which was to have swept away the most beautiful buildings in Oxford for a magnificent Italian quadrangle, of which only the north side was constructed; the design can still be seen in Skelton. The fellows who thought of this terrible act of

vandalism were the immediate predecessors of those who are for ever pilloried in Gibbon's Autobiography, as the "monks of Magdalen," "decent, easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder"; "from the toil of reading or thinking or writing, they had absolved their conscience." Of course Gibbon was not quite fifteen when he entered the college, and had only been there fourteen months when his name was removed for joining the Church of Rome; of course, too, he was bitterly prejudiced against all religious institutions, such as Oxford then was; but the main points of his indictment stand unshaken; the "vindication of Magdalen College," which was published by a certain Mr Hurdis, is beneath contempt; he actually compares the Hebrew scholar, Kennicott, "an editor of mountainous desert," with "the smaller labours of Gibbon." Magdalen has many distinctions to boast of, but the less said of its connection with the greatest of English historians, the better.

The state of Magdalen was well symbolised by the life of its centenarian president, Dr Routh,* who presided over it from 1791 to 1854. He was a scholar, and what he published was good, but he published very little; he was a religious man, but he accumulated a large fortune out of his official incomes, and, according to modern ideas, he did little towards the performance of his duties. Yet even in his time his college could boast the names of a famous statesman in Robert Lowe (Lord Sher-

brooke), a great Lord Chancellor in Lord Selborne,*[1] a great bishop in the late Bishop of Chichester,* a great novelist in Charles Reade, a great theologian in the late Professor Mozley.

What Magdalen has become since Routh's time, it is not the place here to describe; suffice it to say that it has quadrupled its numbers, and now plays a prominent part in every side of University life; its scholars and its theologians, its athletes and its poets—are not their names known to all Oxford men of this generation? The fame of Mr A. D. Godley, the author of "Lyra Frivola" and "Verses to Order," has spread beyond this comparatively narrow circle; his reputation as the "Oxford Calverley" is now English and not merely academic.

The wealth of Magdalen College has enabled it to come to the assistance of the University by the endowment of professorships, especially of the chairs of Physiology, Botany, and Mineralogy. This new development is represented in the Hall by a fine portrait of the late Sir John Burdon Sanderson (*C. W. Furse), professor first of Physiology and then of Medicine.

[1] Lord Selborne gave the present windows of the chapel; to this purpose he devoted all the income of his fellowship.

NOTE.—Opposite Magdalen College is the Botanic Garden, the oldest institution for scientific botany in England; it was founded in 1621 by Henry, Earl of Danby, on the site of the old Jews' Burying-ground. The arch has a statue of Charles I.

XIV

BRASENOSE COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The foundation stone of the college was laid, according to the inscription which still stands over No. 1 Staircase, on June 1, 1509. This led to the old Chapel. At this time the front quadrangle with the Hall was completed. An extra storey was added about the time of James I. Of the Founder's time, too, is the kitchen, on the W. side of the second quadrangle. The present Chapel[1] was begun in 1656. Traditionally it is said to be from the design of Sir Christopher Wren, and if so, it is most interesting as the earliest work of that great architect; it illustrates, too, the struggle in his mind between the old Oxford Gothic and the new Italian style. The ceiling is of beautiful fan tracery, and the windows try to be Gothic; but the rest of the decoration is classical, and so is the general effect. It seems not unlikely that

[1] Its E. and W. windows, though modern, have particularly interesting glass.

the ceiling is really older, and was brought to Brasenose and adapted from the Chapel of St Mary's College (now Frewen Hall). The Library was added at the same time. The buildings further south and the front in the High Street (1887 and 1910) were added in our own day from a design by Mr Jackson; it is a pity that so good a design is so overloaded with ornament.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE is a new departure in Oxford history. The previous colleges had occupied the sites of old Halls, but they had superseded them, and were new foundations. Brasenose, on the other hand, is the direct continuation of the old Hall of the same name, and the first Principal of the college was the last Principal of the Hall. This institution had had a history of more than two centuries, and of it the college possesses a most interesting relic in the famous brazen knocker—a lion's head—from which both institutions derived their name. This knocker was carried in 1334 by the men of the Hall to Stamford, when there was a migration from Oxford to that place. The thunders of royal displeasure crushed this attempt at schism, and the students were driven back to Oxford. Of their stay at Stamford the only memorials were the oath in the University statutes which bound all M.A.s not to lecture at Stamford (this survived till 1827), and the

famous "nose" which remained at Brasenose Hall, Stamford, till the college purchased the building in 1890, and brought back the relic to a place of honour in the College Hall.

Brasenose, too, is singular in another respect. Its founder, Sir Richard Sutton,* begins the short list of voluntary lay founders in Oxford (for John de Balliol founded his college as a penance); but he has to yield the chief part of the honour of the foundation to William Smyth,* one of many bishops of Lincoln who were benefactors of the University. In its statutes Brasenose is rather curious than important. Though the Revival of Learning had been going on for thirty years in Oxford, and though Corpus, which is the Humanist college above all others, was being actually built at the same time, yet there is no trace of the new influences in the foundation of Smyth and Sutton: their students were to pursue the old studies of logic and theology. This contrast between the two new colleges is reflected—no doubt unconsciously—in a quaint incident; one of the undergraduates of Brasenose was arrested for assaulting a servant of Bishop Foxe, the founder of Corpus, and two years later even the late principal of Brasenose Hall had to be bound over to keep the peace towards the workmen at the "new college near Merton." In their discipline, however, the joint-founders made certain innovations; a system of pecuniary fines is introduced, "varying from one farthing to two pence," "for coming late to lecture, for omitting to wear a surplice, . . .

or for speaking English in public. And it is at Brasenose first that corporal punishment is fully introduced; the undergraduate is "stripped of all his mediæval dignity" and "reduced to the schoolboy level." He is liable to the birch for "unprepared lessons, talking in lecture, making odious comparisons," and other small offences.

The history of the college thus founded is singularly uneventful; it seems from the first to have had a special connection with Cheshire and Lancashire, and to have drawn its students from the upper classes. Hence the same names appear again and again, and the college has always been remarkable in an unusual degree for its vigorous patriotism.

In the first stage of its history down to the Restoration, the most famous names on its roll are John Foxe, the somewhat romancing historian of English martyrs, and Robert Burton,* the author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," who was elected to Christ Church, and by that body was made Vicar of St Thomas, the church near the station, which was then outside Oxford. He is recorded by his contemporaries to have been "very merry, facete, and juvenile," and to have specially excelled in "larding" his discourses with verses from the poets. The curious learning of the "Anatomy" makes it easy to believe this. Among his contemporaries was Marston the dramatist. Rather later was the visit of John Middleton, the Lancashire giant, known as the "Child of Hale." The painting of his hand is preserved in the Buttery, and

Pepys records that he paid 2s. to see it. The name of this famous man of might is always borne by the Brasenose boat.

Even the troubles of the Great Rebellion passed comparatively lightly over the college; nearly half the fellows submitted to the Visitors—a most unusual proportion. As they proceeded at once to elect a new Principal, in defiance of the Visitors' orders, their submission does not seem to have been a very real one. Perhaps, however, it is the reason why the college possesses a unique chapel, *i.e.*, one built in the time of the Commonwealth.

In the period following the Restoration Brasenose, says its loyal chronicler, is "not especially distinguished except by an undue preeminence in the records of the Vice-Chancellor's Court." Perhaps we may connect this with the devotion to ale, of which the famous "Ale Verses" are the commemoration. These were annually presented to the Principal by the butler on Shrove Tuesday; the earliest extant copy dates from 1700. Of course the butler got the assistance of the best wits in college, and the series which is complete from 1826 to 1886, is full of humorous allusions to college and academical gossip.

The brilliant period of Brasenose history is at the beginning of the century when Reginald Heber, afterwards fellow of All Souls, was an undergraduate. It was after a breakfast in his rooms in Brasenose, which were at the N.E. corner, that the poet added at Sir Walter Scott's suggestion the two most famous lines to his

famous Newdigate prize poem on "Palestine"; the, refer of course to the building of the Temple.

> "No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung;
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung,
> Majestic silence."

Heber was a member of the famous Brasenose Wine Club, the Phœnix, which has already kept its centenary, and is the longest lived social club in Oxford. He used his skill as a poet in writing topical verses for the college before he became a Newdigate prizeman and a great hymn writer. It was just after Heber's time that the college (Easter Term 1809) monopolised all the three first classes that were given, and that a B.N.C. tutor, Frodsham Hodson (*T. Phillips), drove into Oxford with a coach and four, that it might not be said "that the first tutor in the first college in the first University in the world entered Oxford with a pair."

In the generation immediately succeeding Heber, the college can boast of Barham, the witty author of the Ingoldsby Legends, and of another famous Newdigate prize poet, H. H. Milman; one line of his poem—on the Apollo Belvidere—is still often quoted:

> "And the cold marble leapt to life a God."

He is now remembered rather for his historical than for his poetical talents. He, like another distinguished Brasenose clergyman, the Rev. F. W. Robertson (of Brighton), was in his day attacked for heterodoxy, on account of views

which in our day would pass without any question.

But it is impossible to leave the history of Brasenose without speaking of its athletic triumphs; it has ever been

"Queen of the Isis Wave,
Who trains her crews on beef and beer,
Competitors to brave."

Its boat has been head of the river fourteen times since 1837; before this the records are incomplete, but it was head in at least four years. It has only once been lower than tenth. And in cricket it has been equally distinguished, though here its reputation is no longer what it was; in 1871 it had eight men in the University eleven, among them the famous Ottaway. And it may truly be said that Brasenose has merited these honours; it has devoted itself to those sports which Oxford loves, and no college has had, or has, a wider or more deserved popularity in the University generally.

It is a curious chance that made the most cultured and delicate of modern Oxford prose writers, Walter Pater,[1] a fellow and tutor of Brasenose; but he appreciated to the full the vigour of the young life round him. It might well be argued that Brasenose is the most Greek of Oxford colleges—on one side of Greek education. Such at least would have been the view of the late Principal, Dr Cradock, of whom there is a fine portrait in the Hall by Frank Holl.

[1] There is a monument to him on the W. wall of the Chapel.

XV

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

BUILDINGS. — The buildings at Corpus are the least interesting part of this most interesting college. They belong mainly to two periods, the Founder's time and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Of the earlier date, are the front quadrangle (though the N. and W. sides were raised a storey in 1737), the Hall, the Chapel, and the kitchen and other offices to the E. of the Hall; these were completed by 1520. The Hall is extremely picturesque, though its proportions are dwarfed by several huge pictures. The Chapel has suffered very much from restorations, and is, as a former President said, "of a strictly domestic style of architecture." In the ante-chapel is the curious brass of the first President, Claymond, who gave the lectern; he is represented, like his friend, Bishop Foxe, on his tomb at

Sundial
Corpus Christi Coll:

J H N

Winchester, as a skeleton in a shroud. The altar-piece of the Adoration of the Shepherds (given 1804) is by Rubens. The Library is next to that of Merton the most picturesque in Oxford. The monuments on the chapel walls are of Presidents Reynolds and Spenser (p. 195).

The present cloister and the fellows' buildings on the S. side of the college were begun in 1706 — perhaps from a design by Dean Aldrich. Of the rest of the college, the President's lodgings were begun about 1600; till that time he had occupied the rooms over the gateway, one of which still has a magnificent Tudor ceiling; the lodgings have now been rebuilt (1905-6), except for the S.E. portion, which dates from the late 17th century. The new buildings on the N. side of Merton Street were put up in 1885, from a design by the late Sir Thomas Jackson.

The quaint sun-dial in the centre of the front quadrangle was erected by a Corpus fellow in 1581.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Merton, and New College, are the three typical colleges of Oxford; as Merton founds the college

system, and New College establishes it, so Corpus adapts it to the new learning of the Renaissance. This is one great point in the peculiarly interesting history of Corpus; the second is that it seems to have preserved a more unbroken career than any other college—except, perhaps, Christ Church; all periods of its history are not equally bright, but it has never sunk into such prolonged obscurity as all other colleges have done.

Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, the Founder, was one of the most remarkable men of the early Tudor period; he was probably at Magdalen College, but soon went abroad, and attached himself to the service of Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII.; this prince he served, both in adversity and in prosperity, especially by his diplomatic ability: it was Foxe who, among other delicate negotiations, arranged two of the most famous marriages of English history, that of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon, and that of James IV. of Scotland with Margaret Tudor. He shared, with Archbishop Morton, the confidence of Henry VII., and for a time was a prominent counsellor of Henry VIII. The scandal of Archbishop Parker that Wolsey displaced him, and that Foxe, at the close of his life, told Wolsey that, though he "could no longer distinguish white from black (he became blind), yet he could well discern the malice of an ungrateful man," is refuted by Foxe's own letters; in these he expresses a warm admiration of Wolsey, and a touching care for his health amid his intolerable labours;

"I heartily pray," he writes, "lay apart all such business from six of the clock in the evening, which shall greatly refresh you." Foxe was not only a man of affairs; he was also a scholar and, still more, a patron of scholars; few men have played a more prominent part in both Universities; he recast the statutes of Balliol (see p. 60), he was a benefactor of Magdalen College; at Cambridge he was Master of Pembroke (and a benefactor of the same); he carried out the will of the Lady Margaret, in founding St John's College, and he had a share in completing King's College Chapel. His house was a great resort of learned men—among others, of Erasmus; and he ventured to say in public that he found the Dutch scholar's version of the New Testament, "as good as ten commentaries."

It is not surprising that, having so many secular duties on hand, Foxe had little time for his spiritual duties; he writes in 1522: "I have been so negligent that of four several cathedral churches that I have had, there be two, scilicet Exeter and Wells, that I never see; and innumerable souls whereof I never see the bodies." Accordingly at the close of his life he began to think of devoting some portion of his vast wealth to a special foundation at Oxford for the advantage of the Church. His first intention was to found a monastery, but he was dissuaded from carrying it out by his friend Bishop Oldham,* the founder of the famous Manchester Grammar School; the words of that prelate are a remarkable instance of prophecy; "What, my

lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks (*i.e.* drones), whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see." Within twenty-five years all the monasteries of England were swept away, but Foxe's bounty — to which Oldham himself largely added—provided a college for the "increase of learning," and for the "good of church and commonwealth." Corpus was founded in 1516, and the statutes given next year; the motive cannot be better expressed than in the words of Foxe himself. "We have no continuing city here, but seek one that shall be in heaven, to which we hope to arrive more easily and quickly if we raise a ladder, calling its right side virtue and its left knowledge." He therefore founds a college wherein, "as in a hive," "the scholars, like clever bees night and day may make wax and sweet honey to the honour of God and the advantage of themselves and all Christian men." This figure of the hive and the bees was a favourite one with Foxe, and it was employed by others also; Erasmus, in a dedication to the first President, speaks of him as "head of the college of the bees." According to tradition a swarm actually settled in the roof over the rooms of the scholar Vives, and remained there for more than a century; but when the Parliamentary Visitors turned out the fellows, the bees went too, "as if the feminine sympathised with the masculine monarchy," says Plot, the naturalist.

The Founder's statutes arrange most care-

fully the studies of his students. These are to be very largely classical, and a long range of authors is recommended, which will bear comparison with the prescribed lists of our own times. Instruction was to be given by the two "Readers" in Greek and in Humanity, *i.e.*, Latin, whose lectures were to be open to the whole University. There was to have been a third Reader, *i.e.*, one in Theology, but he seems never to have been appointed; probably the Vice-President discharged his duties, which were to lecture every working day throughout the year, except for ten weeks, on some part of the Bible. He was to use the commentaries of the ancient fathers, not of the mediæval doctors, "far inferior in learning as in date," as the Founder says. When we add the lectures at Magdalen, which the B.A.'s were to attend twice a day, "going and returning in a body," and the University and the College disputations and the preparations for them, we shall see that Foxe's bees had a busy time. They were allowed the amusement of playing ball in the garden, but when they went for a walk they were to go three together. Nor had they long vacations; scholars were only to be away for twenty days in the whole year, fellows for forty days, unless they went abroad to improve their scholarship, as the Founder encouraged them to do, thus anticipating the research fellowships of our own day.

The scholars had to pass a by no means contemptible examination before admission; to

"write off a Latin letter, to compose fair verses, to have been initiated into logic, and to have some little training in 'plain song,'" are the requirements. We can best realise how these statutes worked by the example of the famous Jewel, who joined Corpus from Merton in 1539, at the age of seventeen. He began to study at four, one hour before early Mass, he went to bed at ten, and often spent whole days in the Library; he took no recreation but walking, and even then he either "meditated, or instructed boys, or argued 'in Aristotelian fashion.'" No wonder he was a prodigy of learning; no wonder, also, that his health broke down: but all Foxe's scholars were not so obedient to his regulations as Jewel.

Erasmus prophesied that Foxe's foundation would rank among the "chief ornaments of Britain," and that its "trilinguis bibliotheca" (Hebrew, Greek, Latin), would attract more students than Rome formerly. Foxe did his best to make his college succeed by his choice of men; his first President, Claymond of Magdalen, was a noted scholar, "a Cicero in Prose, an Ovid in Verse," and two distinguished foreigners at least were introduced,—Vives, the Spaniard, and a German, Kratzer, to teach mathematics. Having seen his college thus successfully started, Foxe died in 1528. The college possesses no less than seven portraits of him, of which the best is in the Hall; the Library too was enriched by him with a choice collection of printed books and MSS., and his plate (which is under

the special care of the President and not generally shown) is the finest college plate in Oxford. His crozier too is still preserved, and the gold chalice and paten which he gave to the Chapel.

Among the earliest members of Corpus were Reginald Pole, afterwards of Magdalen, the last Roman archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Udall, headmaster of Eton, one of the earliest of English dramatic writers.

The college during the early period of the Reformation seems to have been strongly on the side of the old form of faith, and in the reign of Mary one of the scholars, Anne, was flogged for writing a poem against the Mass; as he received a stripe for every line, he must have repented of his poetic efforts. But even during the period of persecution, friendly feelings often prevailed; Jewel was compelled to leave the college for his own safety, but the speech in which he bade his colleagues farewell is still extant and is most touching. One of Gardiner's own Commissioners told the college that, though they had kept all their copes and chapel ornaments, they "had thrown away a *jewel* more precious than all." This chapel furniture was preserved for some time after Elizabeth's accession, and even as late as 1666, the college brought an action against three persons at Burford for sixty copes and no less than four hundred other vestments. A very few fragments still survive in a 17th cent. altar cloth.

This permanence of Roman feeling led—as at Merton (p. 79)—to a fierce dispute about the

election of President. Cole, who was forced upon the college by Elizabeth in 1568, had been one of the Zurich exiles, and added to his other offences that of being a married man. His term of office was a stormy one, and his conduct seems to have been open to serious reproach, as he made his brother-in-law reader in Greek at the age of nineteen; the Visitor, a fellow exile of Zurich, threatened to remove him, but relented when Cole pleaded "must I then eat mice at Zurich again"? But amid all these storms, Corpus was the home of the two theologians, who perhaps more than any others contributed to the defence of the English Church. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, has been already mentioned; his "Apologia" was long the bulwark of English Protestantism. But far more famous was the great Richard Hooker, who came to Corpus through Jewel's influence in 1567: he was then not fifteen. He was emphatically "a poor student," and was no less than five times assisted out of the benefaction of a certain Robert Nowell, who had left to trustees a considerable sum for the help of scholars at Oxford. He was lecturer on Logic in college, where he resided in all some sixteen years; he only left it on his unfortunate marriage. The occasion of this was his going to London to preach, as the Founder had directed, at St Paul's Cross; his hostess in London took such care of him that she succeeded in persuading him that it was "best for him to have a wife . . . who would prolong his life and make it more com-

fortable." He "like a true Nathanael, who feared no guile," allowed her to choose for him, with the result that she married him to her daughter, "who brought him neither beauty nor fortune" . . but was like that wife, "which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house." And so "he had to go forth from that garden of piety, of pleasure, and of peace into the thorny wilderness of a busy world." It was fitting that a Corpus man, Spenser, should publish the first posthumous edition of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," while to his efforts was largely due the recovery of Book VIII.; another Corpus man published Hooker's sermons.

The combination of learning and piety which distinguished Jewel and Hooker is very striking in Hooker's old tutor, John Reynolds, although, unlike his pupil, he was a Puritan. He represented that party at the Hampton Court Conference, and suggested to James the new translation of the Bible, which resulted in the Authorised Version. He himself was one of the translators of the Prophets, and the Oxford Revisers met at his house, though he died four years before the work was completed; three other Corpus men seem to have been among the Revisers. Of Reynolds all men spoke well; although Queen Elizabeth told him that she "willed him to follow her laws and not run before them," yet she offered him a bishopric. It is delightful to read in his life of his sympathy with and encouragement for young scholars, even to the last, when he worked himself to death at

the age of fifty-eight. King James I. probably referred to his lack of care for himself, when at the Hampton Court Conference he told Reynolds, who scrupled about the words in the marriage service, "With my body I thee worship," "If you had a good wife yourself, you would think that all the honour and worship you could do to her were well bestowed."

Of a similar character to Reynolds was another great President, Thomas Jackson (1631-1640); of his rule at Corpus Fuller wrote his well-known encomium: "Here he lived piously, ruled peaceably, wrote profoundly, preached painfully." His works fill twelve volumes of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. He was of the school of Laud, and as such is attacked by Prynne as "transported beyond himself with metaphysical contemplations"; but he was so tender-hearted that the mere threatening of the Civil War killed him. "One drop of Christian blood was a deep corrosive to his tender heart." Among his college contemporaries was Pocock, the great Orientalist, the first Laudian Professor of Arabic.

On Jackson's successor the storm broke. When Oxford was taken by the Parliamentarian army, he and almost all his fellows and scholars were removed, though some got their places back afterwards. Among these James Quin was particularly lucky; he had a good voice, and was introduced to Cromwell, "who heard him sing with very great delight, liquored him with sack," and then asked what he could do

for him. Quin begged for the restoration of his student's place, and "kept it till his dying day."[1]

The intruded President, Staunton, was a good man and a noted preacher; he preached once or twice every Lord's Day, and in the evening "he examined the younger sort, calling them to account about what they had heard that day." We are not surprised to hear from one of those expelled that the "Assemblers' Catechism was an ungrateful task put on the scholars." Joseph Alleyne, the author of the once famous "Alarm to the Unconverted," was admitted a member of Corpus at this time.

After the Restoration the college had the doubtful honour of having Charles II.'s son, the Duke of Monmouth, matriculated; when he came to Oxford with the King in 1665, he and the Duchess lodged in the President's house. After his rebellion his name was carefully erased from the college books. Discipline was very low; Morley, the visitor, made up for laxity in serious matters, by attacking periwigs "whereby the clergy did conform themselves to the world."

But things became better under President Turner, who began the new buldings in 1706; he was brother of Turner of Ely, one of the "seven bishops," of whom he left a portrait to the President's lodgings. He is represented in the Bodleian by one sermon, in this resembling his successor, Dr Mather. Many, however, of the Presidents of Corpus, unlike most heads of houses in Oxford, have been prolific authors.

[1] Wood tells this tale, but Quin was really of Christ Church.

The beginning of the eighteenth century was a dark period in the history of the college. The register of punishments shows a constant occurrence of serious offences; not only were the authorities defied and insulted, but a scholar is actually punished for "attempted murder"; the penalty was extraordinary—deprivation of commons *for fifteen days*. Another curious entry is that which records how, in 1754, five B.A.'s were punished for having a picture of the Pretender hung up in their Common Room. Among them was the future President, Cooke. Part of the penalty was to translate into Latin Archbishop Potter's Coronation sermon. Yet even during this obscure period, Corpus can boast the famous name of General Oglethorpe, the friend of John Wesley, and as a prison reformer one of the leading philanthropists of the eighteenth century. He was the founder of the State of Georgia, and so the last of the long roll of Oxford men who helped to build up the United States.

From this obscurity and disorder Corpus was rescued by the wise administration (1748-1783) of Randolph, in his day one of the most famous of Christian apologists. Of his kindness and wisdom there is a charming picture in the memoirs of Edgeworth, father of the famous Maria Edgeworth, who entered in 1761, and speaks most warmly of his teachers and their teaching; "scarcely a day passed without my having added to my stock of knowledge some new fact or idea." It is instructive to compare

this with Gibbon's denunciation of contemporary Magdalen. More famous names at this period are those of the two great lawyers, Lord Stowell (* Phillips) and Lord Tenterden (* Owen), both of whom were Corpus scholars.

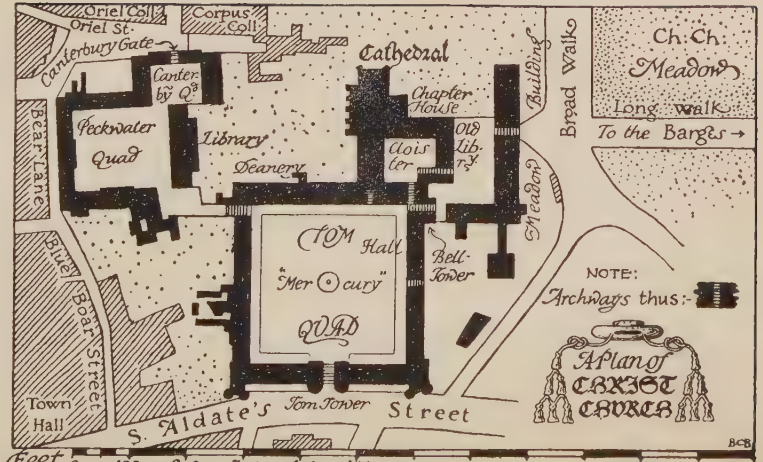
During the long reign of Dr Cooke (1783-1823) Corpus entered on a still more brilliant period; it may be illustrated by the names of three scholars who all became fellows of Oriel within twenty years. Copleston* was the leading man in Oxford of his time, and championed his University against the strictures of the *Edinburgh Review*; Keble,[1] after a career of unexampled success, was elected at Oriel in 1811 before he was twenty; Arnold followed him there in 1815. The delightful society of Corpus at this time is well described in Stanley's "Life of Arnold," and the records of the Junior Common Room show the future headmaster in the strange character of a not very successful topical poet. It is interesting to note that in his time the modern laxity of dress was beginning; men were ceasing to come to their wine in silk stockings and buckled shoes. It is terrible to add that dogs seemed to have been usual in college at this time.

During our own day Corpus has been true to the spirit of its Founder; its late President was one of the leaders of the Liberal Reform movement in the middle of the century, and in

[1] The Corpus tradition is that Keble lived in the right-hand corner of the quadrangle, and that it was his habit to shy his commons of bread at the Pelican.

1853 the college agreed to make itself chargeable for the new Latin Professorship, "to effect a more complete fulfilment of the spirit of the Founder's Statutes." It is impossible even to mention the names of the numerous Corpus men who have played, and are playing, prominent parts in the University, and in all departments of Church and State, but I must not omit to mention Mr Ruskin's connection with Corpus: on his return to Oxford in 1870 as Slade Professor, he migrated from Christ Church; his rooms here (Fellows Building, No. II.) were the centre of an enthusiastic band of young Oxford men.[1] A characteristic story is told of Ruskin's reception by the then head of Corpus; "Nothing would have induced me," said Mr Ruskin, "to leave the 'House of Christ' (*aedes Christi*) except to be joined to the 'Body of Christ:'" The old President was much puzzled, and could only reply, "I hope that you find your rooms comfortable." My own obligations to the two excellent histories of Corpus written by the late President, Dr Fowler (d. 1904), must be especially acknowledged here. He, like so many of his predecessors, was a learned and prolific author; he possessed, too, that special mark of so many Corpus Presidents, the power of stimulating and assisting the scholars of a younger generation.

[1] It was in these rooms that Mr Ruskin's disciples used to be entertained at breakfast, in the days when his reforming ardour set young Oxford road-making at Ferry Hincksey.


Oriel Coll
Oriel St.
Corpus Coll
Canterbury Gate
Canter by Qd
Cathedral
Chapter House
Building
Bread Walk
Ch: Ch:
Meadow
Long walk
To the Barges →
Peckwater Quad
Library
Deanery
Cloister
Old Lib. ry
Meadow
Bear Lane
Blue Boar Street
Town Hall
TOM Hall
"Mercury"
QUAD
Bell-Tower
NOTE:
Archways thus:-
A Plan of CHRIST CHURCH
S. Aldate's Street
Tom Tower
BCB
Feet 0 100 200 300 400 500 1000 1200

XVI

CHRIST CHURCH

BUILDINGS.—The oldest part of the college is the building to the South of the Cathedral, which was formerly the Refectory of St Frideswyde's. This was the original Library of the college, but was converted into rooms in 1775. The first part of Wolsey's buildings to be finished was the kitchen, a commencement over which the wits of the time made very merry. One epigram may be quoted: "Egregium opus! Cardinalis iste instituit Collegium et absolvit popinam," which may be rendered:

> "Here's a fine piece of work! Your Cardinal
> A college plans, completes a guzzling hall."

Wolsey was true to the old Oxford tradition, which has never neglected the body in its care for the mind.

The rest of the Cardinal's completed work consisted of the East, South, and part of the West sides of the great quadrangle. The buildings may still be seen in the portrait of Wolsey (once attributed to Holbein) in the Hall.[1] This is far the finest of the Halls of Oxford, and measures 115 feet by 40; it is said to have been originally paved with green and yellow tiles, the effect of which must have been very strange.

Wolsey's statue over the great gate and under Tom Tower was made by an Oxford man, Bird, in 1719, at the expense of Trelawny (*by Kneller), Bishop of Winchester, one of the "Seven Bishops," and the hero of the famous ballad :—

"And must Trelawny die?"

After Wolsey's fall, the buildings remained at a standstill for a century; then Dr Samuel Fell,* Dean under Charles I., attempted to complete the great quadrangle,[2] the North side of which had been destined for Wolsey's Chapel, an

[1] The collection of portraits is unrivalled in Oxford; special note should be taken of the Reynolds, the two Gainsboroughs and the Romney below the dais on left, of the Lawrence (Lord Auckland) opposite, and of the Orchardson (Dr Paget) above the dais.

[2] Tom Quad is 264 ft. by 261, the great court at Trinity, Cambridge, 310 by 250.

Tom Tower

Oxford rival of King's Cambridge; this had never gone beyond the stage of foundations. Dr Fell made the present N.E. entrance into the quadrangle, and nearly completed the buildings on the North side; but the Civil War intervened, and they were left imperfect. His most beautiful work was the lovely approach to the Hall, which was put up in 1640; it is the strangest of the many architectural marvels of Oxford that so graceful a piece of fan-tracery should have been designed at a date so late. Its architect was Smith, of London, as we are told with a brevity that sounds like irony. Dr Fell's more famous son, John Fell,* whose statue at the N.E. corner faces that of Wolsey, carried on his father's work, and deserves the title of a second founder. He not only completed the unfinished buildings already mentioned, but added the Northern part of the West front—in St Aldate's. Above all, he employed Wren to build over Wolsey's gateway, the Tom Tower—finished in November 1682. In this was hung the bell called "Great Tom of Christ Church," which had originally belonged to Osney Abbey; it was rung first on

May 29, 1684, the "great festival," as Wood calls it, of the Restoration, and from that time to this it has rung its 101 strokes every night (except once) at nine as a signal that all students should be within their college walls. It need hardly be said that the signal is not obeyed. The number is that of the students of King Henry's foundation, with one additional added by the Thurston bequest in 1663.

Fell also built the Chaplains' buildings (since destroyed) to the South of the great quadrangle, and added another canon's house—now attached to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History—at the entry to Peckwater Quadrangle. He made also the Broad Walk,[1] and planted it with the elms, of which only a few battered fragments remain to our own day, but which twenty-five years ago were as famous for their beauty as for their associations.

[1] Till the sixteenth century the meadows on this side of Oxford were very low, and Wood records that he had heard from old men how they used to row up to Corpus, and obtain a drink at the buttery. Wolsey began the raising of the walk; both he and Fell employed the rubbish from their building works. The Broad Walk was originally called the "Long Walk"; it is said that its present name is a corruption of "The Wide" (*i.e.*, "The White") Walk.

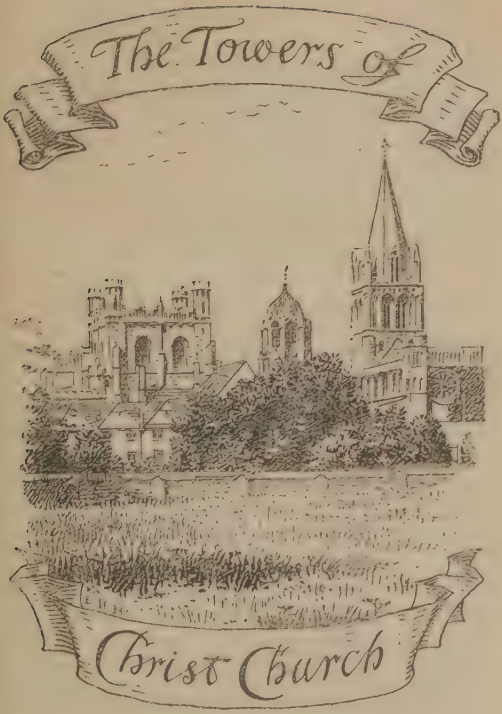
Peckwater Quadrangle was built in 1705 from the design of Dean Aldrich; its name commemorates the old inn on its site. The South side is the famous Library (begun 1716, from design of Dr G. Clarke (*cf.* p. 276), the second founder of Worcester College, finished 1761).[1] Then late in the 18th century, Canterbury Quadrangle was built in place of the buildings which had belonged to Canterbury College. This foundation had been attached to the great monastery of the metropolitan see, and had had John Wycliffe as its first head. The gateway was designed by Wyatt.

Finally in our own day (1863) the buildings which look on the Broad Walk were put up, and soon after the Long Walk, down to the Barges, was opened. The tower, in the S.E. corner of the great quadrangle, was also put up about 1879 from the designs of Mr Bodley; there had been a tower there in Wolsey's days,

[1] The ground floor of the Library is occupied by the collection of pictures bequeathed by Gen. Guise (d. 1765). In this the names of great masters are much more common than their works; but there is an excellent Madonna by Piero de' Franceschi and a well painted but repulsive picture by Annibale Caracci of himself and his brothers as butchers. Much more interesting are the drawings by the Old Masters, bequeathed by the same donor, and his portrait, an early work of Reynolds.

but it had disappeared, none knew when or how.

THE bidding prayer, formerly used by members of Christ Church at St Mary's, gave thanks for Henry VIII. (*Sonmans) as Founder; but now the name of Cardinal Wolsey, as is meet and right, is sometimes inserted before that of his master. It was Wolsey who planned in Cardinal College the most magnificent home of learning in Europe, and who endowed it on a scale unknown before in Oxford, out of the revenues of suppressed monasteries. It was a dangerous precedent for a churchman, for, as Fuller says, "all the forest of religious foundations in England did shake, justly fearing the King would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the Cardinal began to cut the underwood." Henry justified these fears to the full, and Wolsey's foundation in Oxford nearly shared the destruction of monasteries that it had superseded; this was actually the fate of his sister college at Ipswich (the foundation-stone of which is still preserved as a relic in the wall of the Oxford Chapter House). Hence the details of the Cardinal's work have merely an antiquarian interest, and the only point which need be noticed as to it is that Wolsey, in his desire to provide the best scholars for his new foundation, infected it woefully with the Lutheran heresy; of the eight Cambridge men whom he brought to Oxford, six were heretics, two of whom died excommunicate, perhaps from the hardships of


The Towers of
Christ Church

their imprisonment. As Warham pathetically wrote to Wolsey, Cambridge is "thought to be the original occasion and cause of the fall in Oxford."

Wolsey had spared neither money nor pains to complete his college; he had, as Foxe says, "gathered into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm"; in one year (1528-9) he had spent nearly £8000 on the buildings, a sum which would be equivalent to more than £100,000 in our day. Yet the workmen were too slow for his eager spirit, and were said to be shamefully idle.

King Henry stopped all this work, and in 1532 refounded the college, to which he gave his own name. This again he suppressed in order (1546) to unite the college with his new bishopric of Oxford, which was removed thither from Osney. Christ Church from this time onwards has its double character, and the Dean is head of a Cathedral Chapter as well as of a college. The Dean of the second foundation, however, had been Dean under Wolsey; among his canons was Sir John Cheke, who

"Taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek."

Henry's foundation was to consist of a Dean, eight canons, eight petty canons (*i.e.*, chaplains), sixty scholars, and forty children, besides an organist, singing men, etc.; in place of the "children" forty more students from Westminster School were added by Elizabeth. It will be seen that, even as mutilated by the King, the new foundation was on a scale of unparalleled

magnificence. In the next century the Dean's stipend was £300 a year, while no other college gave its head more than £250 (Magdalen and New).

Christ Church accordingly was especially the scene of royal visits. King Henry himself was entertained there, as also was Queen Elizabeth,* on her famous visit to Oxford in 1566; she was amused with plays in the Hall in the evening after her four hours of disputations at St Mary's in the afternoon. The old spell which made it unlucky for a sovereign to visit St Frideswyde—on account of the ungallant ardour of the Saint's royal suitor—seemed to have exhausted its force, or, perhaps we should say, was reserving it for King Charles I., who of all English sovereigns is most associated with Christ Church.

But the college has more interesting associations even than visits from Queen Elizabeth. Sidney, the pattern and flower of English chivalry, was there as a student, but left very young, as he was only eighteen when he started for his three years' travel abroad. Much more prolonged was the residence of the great historian of English discovery, Richard Hakluyt, who came up from Westminster in 1570. Even while an undergraduate he had made geographical adventure his special study, and after his degree, had lectured on it—probably at Oxford. He even was in correspondence with Sir Francis Drake for the establishment of a geographical lectureship in the University, but the scheme broke down as they could not agree about the stipend.

It was in the next generation that Ben Jonson had his degree at Christ Church (1619), but this, as he says, was "by their favour," not by "his study."

A very different person was the noted Puritan Dean, Sampson, who, with Dr Humphrey of Magdalen, was the leader of the Calvinist party in the University. They preached by turns, says Ward, "to the academians," though they gave great scandal by wearing "round caps" instead of "square," and objecting to all clerical vestments. Sampson was troublesome to the University also, because he insisted on proceeding to his B.D. and D.D. without having taken his M.A. This was allowed to him as Dean; but he was too strong a Calvinist for the authorities, and was removed from the Deanery of Christ Church in 1564.

It is in the seventeenth century, however, that Christ Church begins its most famous period; it may be said for two centuries to have been undoubtedly the first college in Oxford, not only in the numbers and the rank of its students, but also in the enterprise of a series of great Deans, and in the general vigour of its administration and the (comparative) excellence of its discipline.

The visits of Charles I. have been already referred to: it was in 1636 that he was entertained in Christ Church Hall with the play of "Passions Calmed," at which, says Wood, stage scenery was used for the first time in the history of the English drama. The old annalist is proud of the talent of his University, but he is

careful to record, after the Restoration, the bad effects of acting on the students, who "arrived to strang degree and streyn of impudence," a very natural result, when the Dean gave them a supper and the canons encouraged them.

Christ Church was a special home of royalist sympathies, and was searched with great thoroughness when Lord Saye occupied Oxford for the Parliament in September 1642. The "idolatrous painted windows" in the Cathedral were especially disapproved of. The plate, too, was confiscated as having been concealed, and Christ Church with University, alone among Oxford colleges, sent their plate perforce to the Parliament in 1642, instead of keeping it for the general sacrifice to the Royal Treasury in 1643. Allestree, the famous royalist divine, and perhaps the author of the once well-known book, "The Whole Duty of Man," nearly lost his life in attempting to rescue the Deanery plate from the Parliament forces. His career is typical of that of many Christ Church and Oxford men at this time. He had taken up arms for the King in 1642, and served at the Battle of Edge Hill and later; but "when carnal weapons proved frustrate, and Divine Providence called his servants to the more Christian exercises of prayers and tears, he took orders, and became censor of Christ Church. He was deprived by the Parliamentary visitors, but was one of those who continued to read the prohibited liturgy during the Commonwealth period, first in Christ Church, and then

EHN
Christ Church Hall

in the house of the famous physician, Dr Willis, opposite Merton College Chapel (which is still standing). An interesting portrait (by Sir P. Lely) in Christ Church Hall shows the three divines, Allestree, Dolben and Fell, so engaged.

The Parliamentary visitors installed first Dr Reynolds, and then the famous John Owen in the Deanery; Mrs Fell, the Dean's wife, was removed by force when her husband refused to submit. Both the two intruded deans were great preachers and divines, especially Owen, the titles of whose works occupy twelve columns folio in Wood's "Athenæ." Wood says of him that, as Vice-Chancellor, he "scorned all formality" and "undervalued his office by going in querpo like a young scholar with powdered hair, snake bone band-strings, Spanish leather boots (the equivalent, I suppose, of the 'brown boots' of our own day), and his hat mostly cocked." But Wood also bears strong witness to his scholarship, his command of English, and his temperate language, in opposition to the abuse showered on Owen by the more prejudiced zealots of Wood's own party.

With the Restoration begins the rule of Dr John Fell (*after Lely). His name is very familiar to many who know not Oxford from the epigram

> "I do not like thee, Dr Fell;
> The reason why I cannot tell.
> But only this I know full well,
> I do not like thee, Dr Fell."

Yet probably this unpopularity had a very academic origin. Fell, as Vice-Chancellor, set

himself to make the examinations of the University a reality; he "held the examiners up to it," says Wood, "and if they could not or would not do their duty, he would do it himself, to the pulling down of many." No wonder he was unpopular, and that those who hated him thought it best to keep the reason of their hatred to themselves. Fell seems to have been the same throughout, pushing, vigorous, and self assertive; he "wasted his spirits by too much zeal for the public," says Wood, who had considerable quarrels with him, and who elsewhere describes him as "a *valde vult* person." Fell insisted on having Wood's "History of the University of Oxford" translated into Latin before it was published, in order that it might appeal more to foreign scholars. He bore the charge of this himself, but took the intolerable liberty of "putting in and out several things according to his own judgment." It was through his influence at the University Press that Fell succeeded in getting this done, and it was in developing this institution that he most served Oxford: he was never weary in spending money and time, either in improving the mechanical resources of the Press, or in securing for it scholarly editions of classical and other works.[1] Fell himself edited St Cyprian's works, and did it so well that it remained the standard edition for 200 years.

[1] The Press from 1669 to 1713 had its home in the Sheldonian Theatre, which remains in the title-page of all Oxford books till 1759; after 1713, it was trans-

His activity is well described in the gossiping letters of Prideaux to his friend Ellis; Prideaux, too, was no mean scholar, and his "Connection between the Old and New Testaments" and his book on "Tithes" were standard works down to our own day. But now it is only his correspondence that is read, and the picture which it gives of Oxford morals and manners is very curious. One of the last acts of Fell's deanship was a discreditable one; in obedience to the order of the King (which can still be read in the Christ Church Library), he deprived Locke of his studentship. The philosopher was unpopular as a Whig, but had behaved with such caution that nothing could be proved against him, though he was known to have been the friend of Shaftesbury. However, the King insisted, and Fell submitted; his disgrace is the greater, owing to the gallant resistance which Magdalen made immediately after to a similar arbitrary act on the part of James II. Locke himself seems to have borne no grudge against Oxford; his portrait by Kneller—one of the very few in which that great painter of wigs and gowns represented a real man—still hangs in his college hall, and he himself, when asked, sent his books to the Bodleian with a letter full of affection for his University.

Another distinguished man expelled from Christ Church in Fell's time was William Penn* the Quaker, who came up in 1660.

ferred to the Clarendon Building (designed by Vanbrugh); the present Press in Walton St. dates from 1830.

Even while he was at Oxford his thoughts were turned towards the New World, where his colony, long afterwards, was to make him famous; but he was sent down for non-comformity in 1661.

Fell's immediate successor was an insignificant Romanist, but in 1689 came another great Dean, Dr Aldrich (* Kneller). He was famous as a logician, as an architect, as a composer, and as a smoker. His "Artis Logicæ Compendium" was reprinted as late as 1862; his spire of All Saints is still one of the beauties of Oxford; and the story is well known how an undergraduate made a bet that the Dean would be found smoking his pipe at 10 A.M., and lost it because, as the Dean pointed out, he was only filling his pipe at the moment. But he is best known to the general reader as the Dean who set the Hon. Charles Boyle * to edit the letters of Phalaris. Out of this unlucky edition grew the quarrel with the great Cambridge scholar, Bentley, who routed the whole host of Oxford scholars in his immortal "Dissertation." But for the time being the world thought that the Oxford wits had the better of the Cambridge pedant, and there was a caricature widely circulated which represented Bentley roasting in the famous "bull" of Phalaris, and crying, "I had rather be roasted than Boyled." This most famous of scholarly quarrels lives for ever in Macaulay's essay on Sir William Temple.

Aldrich was succeeded as Dean by Atter-

Stair-
case
Christ
Church

bury (* Kneller), another famous man, but better known now as a Jacobite bishop than as a scholar. His ability and his fiery temper are well shown in the saying of his friend and successor in the Deanery, Smalridge (* Kneller), "Atterbury comes and sets everything on fire, and I follow with a bucket of water." He was rather senior to his great fellow-Jacobite, Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who also became connected with Christ Church, where he received an honorary degree, though he was never an undergraduate there.

Immediately after Atterbury's time occur two names among the scholars of Christ Church, which are conspicuous even in so long a roll of worthies. Wesley (* Romney) matriculated in 1720, and Murray (* Martin), afterwards Lord Mansfield, Oxford's greatest Lord Chief Justice, in 1723. Wesley passed to Lincoln College to begin his life's work there, and Murray to be the ornament of the Bar. To the same decade belongs George Grenville (*Hoare) (matriculated 1730), whose Stamp Act lost England her American colonies.

For a short period Christ Church shared the general decadence of Oxford in the eighteenth century; but under Dean Conybeare (1733-1755), and afterwards under Markham and Cyril Jackson, discipline was restored and learning once more encouraged. It was under Markham, whose splendid portrait by Reynolds hangs over the dais, that another Grenville (* Owen), afterwards the last Whig

Premier of George III., matriculated and won the prize for Latin verse. In this he was imitated some ten years later by the brilliant George Canning (* Lawrence), who showed at Oxford the versatile talent which made him afterwards the poet of the anti-Jacobin, and England's great Foreign Minister. A similar combination of scholarship and statesmanship is found in Lord Wellesley (* Bates), the famous Governor-General of India (student 1778).

Canning was at Christ Church with his future chief, Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool. They belong to the period (1783-1809) when Cyril Jackson ruled his college and the University with autocratic sway; when the great Dean stepped into Tom Quad, no hat was allowed to remain on any head, nobleman's or tutor's; the scouts alone went covered—for fear of the Dean's making a mistake. Jackson was one of the creators of modern Oxford through the leading part which he took in carrying the Examination Statute. By this, as has been well said, he injured the comparative position of his own college in the University, for he forced other colleges to come up to the level to which Christ Church had been raised by half a century of vigorous government. The first to win a double first-class, under the statute, was Robert Peel in 1808, England's greatest Finance Minister. Jackson refused all preferment, and is said to have passed on the offer of a bishopric to his brother William,* with characteristic bluntness.

"Try Bill," he said, "he'll take it." His portrait by Owen in the Hall was the model from which Chantrey made one of his most famous statues; it now adorns the Library; till the last restoration it was in the Cathedral, where it was said that Christ Church men worshipped it.

Three more deans may be mentioned, Gaisford (*Pickersgill) and his successors, Liddell (*Watts) and Paget (*Orchardson); the two first were among the great Hellenists of the time, the last was the much loved Bishop of Oxford. But still better known were Pusey and Liddon, whose posthumous portraits by the elder Richmond and by Herkomer hang on the right of the Hall beyond the fireplace. Perhaps equally well known is C. L. Dodgson* ("Lewis Carroll"), the creator of "Alice in Wonderland" and of the Snark.

Nor has Christ Church in our own day ceased to produce statesmen. It has never had so brilliant a group as at the close of the twenties, when three successive Governor-Generals of India were there together—the enterprising Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning*(honoured by his nickname "Clemency"), and Lord Elgin. And with them was Mr Gladstone (by Millais), who, like Peel, his great leader, gained the honours of a double first. No other college in Oxford or Cambridge can boast of having given England three successive Premiers, as Christ Church has done in Mr Gladstone,*Lord Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery;*but perhaps the Christ Church man of our generation who will be longest remembered is the artist and the prophet, John Ruskin.

XVII

TRINITY COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The buildings of old Trinity may be assigned to two periods; there are those which belonged to its predecessor, Durham College, and those which have been built and rebuilt since Sir T. Pope's foundation of Trinity College in 1555.

Of Durham College there survives a good deal on the left or W. side of the small quadrangle, *i.e.*, the buttery at the N. end of the Hall, with a very ancient arch, and the two rooms at its South end, the bursary and the Common Room; the latter, once perhaps the oratory, may well be original, as the outside masonry is visibly rougher in character. These buildings belong to the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century was erected the E. side of the small quadrangle, to which an upper storey of "cock lofts" was added in James I.'s time.

New Buildings
Trinity College
EHN

The Library is on this side, and contains some curious pieces of old glass, among them an almost unique figure of Thomas Becket. The Hall was practically rebuilt 1618-1620. Of the later buildings the earliest part is the N. wing of the garden quadrangle, which dates from 1665. This is interesting as one of the first Italian buildings in Oxford. Wren, who designed it, had a magnificent scheme for sweeping away all the old buildings; but fortunately it was never carried out, except in regard to the part between the quadrangles, which was rebuilt in 1728.

The fifteenth century chapel, however, was replaced (1691-4) by the present building, which is said to have been designed by Dean Aldrich, with suggestions from Wren; traditionally it was copied from the chapel at Chatsworth. Its interior is (or was thought to be) magnificent with the carving of Grinling Gibbons; this and the screen are of fragrant cedar, so that a Trinity poet has written—

"Halat opus Lebanique refert fragrantis odorem."

On the left of the altar is the fine sixteenth century monument of the Founder and his wife,

and the windows are filled with excellent modern glass (Powell)—given by the late President (Dr Woods)—representing the saints of the old monastery, Saints Cuthbert, Oswald, and others.

Modern Trinity has added largely to its buildings. It has turned into college rooms the quaint cottages, once old "halls," which look on the Broad Street; they had a narrow escape of being pulled down. And between 1883 and 1887 it built from Mr Jackson's design the new buildings and the President's house; these are some of the most successful efforts of modern Oxford, and, with the old cottages, form another large and picturesque quadrangle, which make an admirable approach to the chapel. Previously to this change the college was hardly visible from the Broad Street, for the only access was by a road confined between high walls.

TRINITY COLLEGE occupies the site and some of the buildings of the old Durham College. This was founded before the end of the thirteenth century for the students from the great Benedictine monastery of Durham, which had no share in Gloucester Hall, the college of southern monasteries. The history of

Durham does not immediately concern us; it might have profoundly influenced the rest of the University had it received the great library of Richard de Bury, the book-collecting Bishop of Durham, the author of Philobiblon: unfortunately he died in debt, and his books seem never to have come to Oxford. His failure showed that libraries had other enemies than that "biped beast—woman, to wit"—who advises that books "should be bartered away for costly head dresses, cambric, silk," and so on. If, as some think, the books did come to Oxford, they were certainly swept away by Henry VIII.'s commissioners with the rest of the college.

The buildings of this are described as having become mere "dog kennels," when Sir Thomas Pope (old copy of Holbein's portrait) purchased them. He was a wealthy lawyer, and one of Henry VIII.'s trusted officials; as Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, which dealt with the property of the confiscated monasteries, he preserved the Abbey Church of St Albans, the chalice of which he presented to his college, which still possesses it. But he was a friend of the old order of things, and under Mary was entrusted with the onerous charge of the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield; he was, however, a kindly keeper, and he consulted the learned lady as to his statutes, while at her intercession he consented to pardon two of his junior fellows, who had climbed into college at night. The statutes, on which he consulted Pole as well as Elizabeth, mark the transition between the

mediæval studies and those of the New Learning; but they are largely modelled on the statutes of Corpus, and especially encourage the reading of the classical authors. Pope notes with sorrow that he could not do as much for Greek as he wished, because the study of it had decayed since he was a boy at Eton.[1]

The college shared the Founder's Catholic sympathies, but was severely visited by Bishop Horne, who swept away the ecclesiastical treasures which the Founder had bequeathed. The most famous name at this period is that of Thomas Lodge, the dramatist.

In the seventeenth century Trinity was ruled by two great Presidents, Dr Kettell * and Dr Bathurst,* both of whom left their mark on the college buildings, and both of whom lived to become oddities. Dr Kettell was President for forty-four years, and besides adding the "cock lofts" to the quadrangle, built the charming old Hall in the Broad Street, which still bears his name. It was in his time that Laud opened up the present Broad Street by pulling down the cottages which had been built N. of the town ditch outside Trinity and elsewhere. It requires an effort to imagine that mediæval Oxford had no real street but the High Street.

Dr Kettell at the close of his life had a special dislike to long hair in his students. "He would bring a pair of scissors in his muffe, and woe be to them that sate outside." Aubrey

[1] This is stated by Warton, but it is very doubtful.

records that he cut one scholar's hair with the bread knife, singing out: "And was not Grim the collier finely trimmed" (from the play, "Gammer Gurton's Needle").

It is not surprising that the old man objected to the strange ways which came with the Court to Oxford in the Civil War. According to Aubrey, the fine ladies not only walked in the grove, but came to the chapel "half-dressed like angels." But when two of them in a "frolic" went to visit the old President, they heard some very plain speaking. Aubrey thinks he would have lived out his century, had not the Civil War killed him.

The number of notable men at Trinity in his time is extraordinary. Archbishop Sheldon * is only the most famous of eight bishops; Denham is a minor poet, but was inspired for once, when he sang Oxford's river, the Thames; William Chillingworth represents theology, and James Harrington, the author of "Oceana," political science. Calvert, Lord Baltimore, is one of the founders of the United States, and Ireton and Ludlow show that Oxford was not wholly Cavalier in its sympathies.

After the Civil War more than half the Trinity fellows—a very unusual proportion—submitted to the Puritan Visitors; but the bursar, Howe, went off with the college papers into the country, till after the Restoration. He was the first person buried in the present ante-chapel.

The havoc of the Civil War was restored

by Trinity's second great President, Dr Bathurst (by Kneller), who ruled from 1664 to 1704. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and afterwards president of the Oxford branch; he was a reforming Vice-Chancellor, and almost rebuilt his college. He maintained good discipline, while at the same time he was specially popular with young men even to the last. Probably it was this sympathy with the young which made him think that the college chapel offices were too long; as a rule, he had both lessons omitted in the morning service. But he, too, "fell into peculiar and capricious humours." He delighted to surprise his scholars in the grove at "unseasonable hours," on which occasions he touched them up with his whip, though mainly in fun, and not with the "intention of applying an illiberal punishment." Among his famous pupils were Lord Somers, one of the greatest of English Chancellors; Lord Stanhope, another Whig leader, the conqueror of Minorca; and Dryden's enemy, Settle.

It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the beautiful Lime Walk was made; it cost about £9. During this period Trinity was a little more intellectually active than other colleges, and certainly was more prolific of great men. William Pitt,* the great Earl of Chatham, who secured America for England, and Lord North,* who lost half of it, were both there. But the most pleasing part of the college story at this time is the friendship

of Dr Johnson for Warton,[1] Professor of Poetry and the historian of English Literature. The great doctor was entertained at Kettell Hall, and said that he liked the Trinity Library best to read in. "If a man has a mind to *prance*, he must study at Christ Church and All Souls."

At the close of the century, we have a curious picture of Trinity life in the doggerel epistles of Skinner; it is not very favourable, beginning with the account of the cold chapel:—

> "With chattering teeth, and noses blue,
> We creep together to our pew,
> Responses quavering out";

and ending with the drunken orgie, for which the scout provides supper, and—

> "The sated guests he with delight
> Counts o'er, for this his perquisite
> Is, when their functions fail";

but he gives a pleasant account of evenings spent in music, and of boating on the river.

Almost a contemporary of his was Walter Savage Landor, who had to be rusticated for firing at the rooms of the man opposite, whom he hated for his Toryism, and whose wine Landor chose to regard as a personal insult. Neither then, nor ever, was the poet a sweetly reasonable person.

[1] The head of him in the Hall is a copy from the fine original by Reynolds in the Fellows' Common Room.

Trinity shared to the full in the revival which marked the beginning of the present century; its scholarships were virtually open, owing to the latitude as to counties allowed by the Founder, and hence were eagerly competed for. By far the most famous of Trinity scholars was Newman, who was elected in 1818. His feeling towards his college is expressed in his Apologia; he was leaving Oxford (as he thought) finally, and he says:—"Trinity had never been unkind to me; there used to be much snapdragon growing on the walls[1] opposite my freshman's room there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence, even unto death, in my University." Newman was made an honorary fellow in 1878; a fine copy of Ouless' portrait of him hangs in the Hall, and there is a bust of him in the garden (west side).

Names like Newman's are rare everywhere, but of men of ordinary distinction, Trinity has had more than its share. The late Professor Freeman (*Vos) was fond of telling of the famous band of scholars who were with him at Trinity; almost without exception they all became famous, including, among the ten of them, two professors of great distinction (Bernard and Freeman himself), a bishop, and a future peer. Of this period, the portraits of Lord Selborne, Bishop Claughton, Lord Lingen (both these latter by Jacomb Hood), and Freeman himself, hang in the Hall. Bishop Stubbs (*Furse), Freeman's predecessor

[1] This wall was that on the North West of the college, where the snapdragon still grows freely

in the History Chair, was elected a fellow about the same time. Two men of a very different character—the travellers Richard Burton and W. G. Palgrave — belong to the same period. It is needless to say that the former quarrelled with everyone at college, as he did elsewhere, and after trying to fight a duel as a freshman, was sent down.

In our own day the college has not only enlarged its buildings, but has doubled its numbers: if the schools furnish any criterion, its number of distinguished sons is not likely to diminish.

The opening lines of a poem on Oxford by one of them, Sir A. Quiller Couch (better known as "Q."), may well end the story of his "Alma Mater."

> "Know ye her secret none can utter?
> Hers of the book, the tripled Crown?
> Still on the spire the pigeons flutter;
> Still by the gateway flits the gown;
> Still on the street, from corbel and gutter,
> Faces of stone look down."

Note.—Trinity has been very fortunate of recent years in the number and excellence of the portraits it has obtained of its great men. To those mentioned above may be added that of the great Latin scholar, Robinson Ellis (Jacomb Hood), of Canon Rawlinson (Foster), of Bryce (Foster), statesman and publicist, of the three last Presidents, Dr Percival (H. G. Riviere), Bishop of Hereford, Dr Woods (H. H. Brown), and Professor Pelham (Herkomer), of Professor Dicey (Langet, painted about 1870), and of Dr Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury (H. G. Riviere); all these hang above the dais, except those of Dr Percival and Dr Davidson, which are on the left wall, and that of Professor Dicey, which is opposite.

XVIII

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Of the original buildings of St Bernard's College, founded by Archbishop Chichele in 1437, only the front and the S. side of the first quadrangle remain. The statue of St Bernard still stands in the gate Tower; but a third storey has been added. The Hall was built about 1502, and the Chapel consecrated in 1530; both of these, however, have been very much modernised. The windows of the chapel, once circular-headed, now gothicized, date from its restoration, about 1662, and at that time the old glass of the E. window was removed to "add more light." The loss has been largely repaired by the liberality of one of the present fellows, who gave the beautiful window by Kempe. On the N. side there is a small chapel, with fan-tracery, which was added in 1662.

St John's Coll.
Garden Front

In the first half century of the college's existence, the front quadrangle remained incomplete —its E. side was completed in 1597, and about the same time the S. side of the second quadrangle, containing the old Library, was put up. This quadrangle was completed through the munificence of Archbishop Laud, who (1631-1635) built the remaining two sides, and completed the President's lodgings, which lie between the two quadrangles: to him are due the two famous colonnades and the beautiful garden front, which is not surpassed for charm by any building in Oxford. These buildings are most interesting architecturally, for in them is blended Oxford's traditional Gothic with the new classical style which was becoming fashionable; the old attribution of them to Inigo Jones is now given up. The contrast is very marked between the classical colonnades in the quadrangle and the Gothic spirit of the garden front. The statues in the quadrangle are those of Charles I. and his Queen, Henrietta Maria; they are the work of Le Sueur.

The buildings to the W. of the Hall, with the kitchen, were built in 1613, and the

Common Room, to the N. of the Chapel, about 1675. Finally, in 1880-81, the college added another block of buildings (completed 1900),[1] continuing its (St Giles) front, from the design of Mr G. G. Scott. A feature of special interest at St John's is, that the college has preserved its rights over the enclosure in front of the college. A similar enclosure was once possessed by Balliol in the Broad St., but was surrendered more than a century since. The present elms in front of St John's were planted early in the 19th century; they took the places of those planted after the Great Rebellion. The Schools of Rural Economy (1907) and of Forestry (1908), on Parks Road, are built on part of the St John's site.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE occupies the site and part of the buildings of the old Cistercian College of St Bernard, which, like Durham College, the predecessor of Trinity, was swept away by Henry VIII. Like Trinity again (see p. 226), St John's was refounded in the reign of Mary, and was strongly in sympathy with the old faith; the founders, too, of both were citizens of London. Sir Thomas White, the Founder of St John's, was twice Lord Mayor, and in that

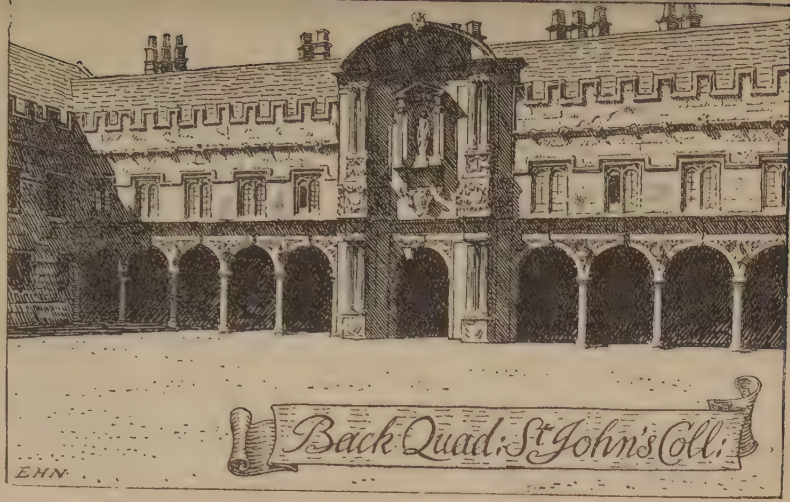
[1] This was continued back to the E. in 1909-10.

office, had distinguished himself by his share in suppressing the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt. He was a benefactor not only of St John's, but also of numerous towns throughout England concerned in the cloth manufacture, to which he owed his wealth. The most valuable of all the college estates, the manor of Walton, which has given to St John's the position of landlords of North Oxford, was purchased very soon after the Founder's death. White's position as a Merchant Taylor has markedly influenced the history of his college, for he established a special connection between it and the company's great school in London, a connection similar to that existing between Winchester and New College, and between Westminster and Christ Church. To this connection St John's owes many of its most distinguished scholars.

The Founder is traditionally said to have chosen the site of St John's, because he found there the three trunks of an elm tree growing from one root, which according to a dream, were to be the sign to him of the proper place for his foundation. He began his work in 1555, and continued it on a larger scale in 1557; dying ten years later, he was buried in the chapel of his college. For this to the last he maintained the keenest affection. Less than a fortnight before his death, he sent to his fellows a letter (of which copies are still given to members of the foundation) exhorting them to unity. "If any strife or variance do arise among you, I shall desire you for God's love to pacify

it as much as you may, and so doing I put no doubt but God shall bless every one of you."

Probably Sir Thomas White was conscious that the religious feuds which were distracting England were strong in his own college. His preference for the older form of faith is well shown in the rich store of ecclesiastical vestments, which are still preserved in the College Library, and which are unique in Oxford. Traditionally they are said to be Laud's gift, but more probably they were given by the Founder for use in his own college and, having been removed by his heirs to his manor house at Fyfield after the Elizabethan settlement, came to St John's somewhat later. Certainly the sympathies of many in the college were strongly against the Reformation movement; two of the early presidents were deprived for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, and one of the most brilliant of the early fellows, Edmund Campion, who had been specially chosen to preach the funeral sermon of the Founder, and who in the same year had taken a prominent part in the ceremonies of welcome to Queen Elizabeth, lived to suffer at Tyburn as a Jesuit and a conspirator in 1581; his name is borne by the new Jesuit foundation in Oxford (Campion Hall, No. 11 St Giles). It was to a college with these traditions that William Laud (*by Vandyck) came up as one of Sir Thomas White's scholars from Reading in 1590; it was his influence which was to confirm the college in its devotion to the Church, but at the same time to establish it in loyalty to the


Back Quad: St John's Coll:
EHN

English branch of the Church. Laud was, henceforth, closely identified with his college and University; at first he was so much in the minority that it was reckoned, as he said, "a heresy to speak to him" or even to salute him in the street; he lived to see his views so triumphant in Oxford that from that time to our own day the University has always been strongly High Church in sympathy. It was the same in his own college; his election as President (1611) was so bitterly resented that one of his opponents actually snatched the voting papers from the altar and tore them in pieces; yet he lived to see this very fellow one of his warmest supporters.

Laud was never connected with any institution, great or small, which he did not extend and benefit. St John's owes to him the completion of its inner quadrangle, and especially of its beautiful Library. When the buildings were finished they were opened by the King (Charles I.) and Queen, who dined in the new room, and then were entertained with a play in the Hall, called the "Hospital of Lovers." "It was merry and without offence . . . and the college was so well furnished as that they did not borrow any one actor from any college," the Archbishop complacently observes; he adds with satisfaction that when the Queen borrowed the dresses and "perspectives," and had it acted over again by her own players at Hampton Court, it was generally agreed that the amateurs had been better than the pro-

fessionals—a truly surprising result, considering the experience of our own day. St John's seems to have been famous for the dramatic ability of its members; when King James visited Oxford in 1605, he was entertained there by a play which "was much better acted than either of the other that he had seen before." As, however, it was not over till 1 A.M., it is not strange that His Majesty "distasted it and fell asleep"; on waking he pettishly said, "I marvel what they think me to be." "Yet did he tarry till they had ended it." Of the dramatists of the seventeenth century, who continued the great traditions of the Elizabethan days, one of the latest, Shirley, belonged to St John's.

The college had at this time the unparalleled honour of giving two presidents in succession as archbishops to the see of Canterbury—Laud and Juxon*; but in the time of the Commonwealth such honours meant suffering and loss. When Oxford was taken by Lord Fairfax, the hand of the Parliamentary Visitors was heavy on St John's, the President and fellows were expelled, and their places were taken by men in whom, according to the college historian, "there was nothing lacking save religion, virtue, and learning." It is not necessary to take this too literally, but certainly St John's does not seem to have been as fortunate in the "intruded" fellows as were some of the other foundations. After the Restoration Laud received the only honour which it was still possible for the college to pay to its benefactor. His body was

brought to St John's, from the Church of All Hallows Barking, where it had been buried after his execution, and, according to his wish, as expressed in his will, was laid "under the altar or communion table there." The ceremony was quite private, according to his directions, and took place by night.

Besides Laud's benefactions, St John's possesses as memorials of him his own notes made at his trial, his skull-cap and the staff on which he supported himself as he walked to the scaffold. It is only fitting that in our own day Laud should have found his most sympathetic biographer in a fellow and tutor of St John's (Rev. W. H. Hutton), now Dean of Winchester. It is even said, by a tradition as well authenticated as that for most ghost stories, that his spirit haunts the Library and the quadrangle.

But Laud's discipline was certainly not maintained by those who cherished his memory. At St John's, as elsewhere in Oxford, there were some who thought it impossible that "a man might study and not be a dullard, might be sober and yet a conformist, a scholar and yet a Church of England man." Prideaux tells a story which illustrates the character of some of the members of St John's at this time. Van Tromp the admiral — "a drunken, greasy Dutchman," as he rudely calls him—had come to Oxford, and though he would not take the Doctor's degree which the University offered him, he partook to the full of the generous Oxford hospitality; Dr Speed, a St John's

man, stayed up in the home of learning, especially to engage in a drinking bout with the foreigner, and the student was much more than a match for the sea dog, who confessed that he "was more drunk here than anywhere else since he came into England, which I think very little to the honour of our University," adds Prideaux.

The loyalty of St John's found expression in special lectures on January 30, commemorating "the barbarous cruelty of that unparalleled parricide" which had been committed on that day; and among the special treasures of the Library is a portrait of the Royal Martyr, over the features of which several psalms are written in a minute hand. When Charles II. visited the college, he asked for this relic of his father; of course he could not be refused; but when, pleased with his entertainment, he asked the fellows what he could do for them, they had nothing to ask for so precious as their portrait. It was accordingly restored, and still hangs in the Library.

A college so loyal was naturally Jacobite, and the most famous St John's man of the eighteenth century is perhaps the non-juring bishop, Richard Rawlinson, who not only left the Bodleian his marvellous collection of MSS., but gave his own college the bulk of his estate. His heart was buried, at his wish, in the chapel to the N. of the altar, with the touching motto "Ubi Thesaurus, ibi cor." This Jacobite tradition was maintained in St John's—at least

so far as loyal toasts could maintain it—almost to within living memory. But in the end St John's, like the rest of Oxford, transferred its loyalty to George III., as is shown by the fine portrait of that King by Ramsay, which hangs over the door of the Hall.

The eighteenth century deserves gratitude of us for one thing, at all events; about 1750 the gardens of St John's were laid out in "serpentine walks"; they now form perhaps the most beautiful of the many beautiful pieces of greenery in which Oxford is embowered. At the beginning of the century they had still been arranged in the old formal Dutch style, and then shared with Merton the honour of being the promenade on summer Sunday evenings of the Oxford beauties and beaux.[1]

In the 19th century St John's has maintained its seventeenth century reputation for wit and light literature. Dr Mansel, philosopher and theologian as he was, is likely to be remembered in Oxford longer for his *bon mots* than for his Bampton Lectures or his Prolegomena Logica; and the Oxford *Spectator*, the most famous of all the ephemeral productions which flow perennially from Oxford pens, was the work of three friends, Nolan, scholar and fellow of St John's, Copleston, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, who was elected from Merton as fellow of St John's, and Humphry Ward, of Brasenose.

[1] The garden under its late garden-master, Rev. H. J. Bidder, has gained an almost European reputation for the variety and beauty of its flowers.

XIX

JESUS COLLEGE

BUILDINGS. — The oldest part of the College is the front to the Turl Street, as far as and including the entrance, and two staircases at the S.E. corner; these date from the time of the Founder. The rest of the S. side, with the Hall, the Chapel, and the Principal's lodgings, were the work of Sir Eubule Thelwall* (Principal 1621-1630). The first part of the back quadrangle to be built was the N. and S. sides, which were erected, at least in part, before the Civil War; this quadrangle was nearly completed between 1675 and 1679, but the N.W. corner was left unfinished till 1713. The present E. end of the chapel was added in 1636, being a fine specimen of seventeenth century Gothic, while in 1856 the front of the college was refaced in the Perpendicular style by Mr

Buckler. The new buildings on Ship Street, begun in 1906, which include a science laboratory, are from the design of Mr R. England.

JESUS COLLEGE has the honour of being the first post-Reformation College in Oxford: its real Founder was Hugh Price (School of Holbein), who obtained from Queen Elizabeth * in 1571 a charter, but its nominal founder was the Queen herself, who was never averse from doing great and good works, if they cost her nothing. The Founder died in 1574, and the college made little progress for half a century; among its first scholars was the learned and pious Lancelot Andrewes,* afterwards Bishop of Winchester, though he really belongs to Pembroke College, Cambridge.

The Tudors always laid stress on their Welsh origin, and from the first the Principals were all Welshmen; but there was no restriction as to nationality in the statutes, although the college became more and more exclusively attached to the Principality.

Jesus College labours under the disadvantage, from the point of view of the English reader, that its great men have mainly done their work, whether for the Church, for the State, or for literature, in Wales, and hence are largely unknown to English exclusiveness. But names like those of Henry Vaughan "the Silurist," one of the greatest of our religious poets, James Usher, the learned Archbishop of Armagh (who was incorporated from Dublin in 1644), and

Charles "of Bala" (1779), who was driven out of the Church to found the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, adorn the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A far greater name in University history is that of Sir Leoline Jenkins (Tuer), the friend of Archbishop Sheldon, who was member for the University and Secretary of State to Charles II. He had suffered for his devotion to the royal cause under the Commonwealth, and had shared the exile in Wales of Sheldon and other royalists. In 1661 he was appointed Principal, and so restored the college, which had been laid waste by the Civil Wars, that he has been termed a "second founder." How great was his reputation in Oxford may be judged from the fact that gossip there pointed to him as Sheldon's successor at Canterbury, although he was never ordained. He was buried in the college chapel.

During the eighteenth century the college established a special connection with the Bodleian Library; from 1747 to 1813 this was ruled over by two Welsh librarians, and almost all the staff were also Welshmen. It cannot be said that the Library flourished under this exclusive system; monopolies are never successful, if long maintained.

The college traditions of noble hospitality are well symbolised by the famous silver punch-bowl, five feet two inches in girth, which was given by the great Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, in 1732; according to the well-known story, the bowl is to become the property of

whoever can span it with his arms, and then drain it full of strong punch. The first feat has been sometimes accomplished, but no person has yet been found with head strong enough to stand ten gallons, and so to win this silver fleece. Perhaps the hospitality of the college has never been exercised for a more famous guest than Dr Johnson, who was entertained by his "convivial friend" the Vice-Principal, Dr Edwards, in 1782. Johnson stayed in college, and it is interesting to find that the battels of all the fellows were unusually high. In our own century the University Commission threw open (1857) half the fellowships to non-Welshmen; and the most famous name in the recent history of the college is that of an Oxford man by birth, J. R. Green the historian (scholar 1854). The influence of Jesus College in Wales has been strengthened by the restoration of its connection with the Church there. Between 1612 and 1714 Jesus College produced no less than twelve Welsh bishops, among them Lloyd of St Asaph, one of the famous "Seven." (He was afterwards a member of Wadham.) But in the dark days of Whig ascendancy the spiritual needs of Wales were sacrificed to English selfishness and to party feeling, and aliens were appointed to rule her Church. In our own time a wiser policy has been adopted, and three of the four Welsh sees at present are filled by ex-scholars of the college. The border diocese of Chester, too, was long filled by an ex-fellow, the late Dr Jayne.

Though the pictures of Jesus College are

comparatively few, it possesses some of the most interesting in Oxford. Of the many portraits of Queen Elizabeth, there is none more splendid than that by Zucchero in one of the Common Rooms; there are two others of equal interest, but less artistic merit, one of which is in the Hall, where there is also a fine Vandyke of Charles I. (who endowed a Channel Islands fellowship at Jesus); and one of the best works of Sir Thomas Lawrence in Oxford represents Nash the architect.[1] He was not a Jesus man, though his better known namesake, the famous "Beau Nash," had (in the seventeenth century) been at the college, before he ruled the fashionable world of Bath with absolute sway.

[1] Nash was the architect of Regent Street; he was a Welshman by birth, and was often employed by Jesus College. He declined to receive any pay for his services, but asked the college instead to have his portrait painted and placed in their hall. Charles II. also, though not a member of the college, is represented by a portrait (Lely) in the hall; he was a benefactor by deputy, for he ordered the corporation of Abergavenny, in "a most gracious letter," to transfer the rectory of Bedgeworth to the college. In the Common Room there is a good seventeenth century portrait, which perhaps represents the notorious Judge Jeffreys; he was not, however, a Jesus man, and it is thought by some to be that of E. Meyricke (fellow 1662), a great benefactor of the college.

XX

WADHAM COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The whole of the front quadrangle, with Hall and Chapel, dates (1613) from the time of the foundation. In the back quadrangle No. 9 Staircase, *i.e.*, the one on the N. side, was finished in 1694, the other two staircases are later. Perhaps in the back buildings of the King's Arms there survive traces of the old Augustinian friary, which occupied the site of Wadham before the Reformation, *e.g.*, in the huge timbers of the roof of the stable. The Chapel, however, though it has not been altered externally, was largely modified in its internal decorations in 1834, when "the Gothic Revivalists" put on the present roof, and inserted the elaborate tabernacle work round the sanctuary. The glass in the chapel is all original, and the great east window is considered the finest specimen in Oxford of the work of

the Fleming, Van Linge the elder; it was made on the spot in the college garden, and cost £113, 7s. 5d.

WADHAM COLLEGE is in two respects unique in Oxford; in the first place, it is the youngest college in the strict sense, for those founded later were but a reconstruction of already existing halls, *e.g.*, Pembroke represents Broadgates Hall; in the second place, its buildings are less altered than those of any other college. The front quadrangle stands as the Foundress, Dorothy Wadham,*left it in 1613, when, after the death of her husband,* she carried out his scheme. Nor does the architectural interest of the buildings cease here; they are the best instance in Oxford of the late Gothic style, which survived all through the first half of the seventeenth century, till the genius of Inigo Jones and Wren superseded it. So markedly conservative is the style of Wadham that excellent judges—*e.g.*, the late Mr Fergusson, the learned historian of architecture, maintained that the chapel must have been built about 1500; he, when confronted with the documents which proved that it was a seventeenth century building, answered that no amount of documents could prove what was impossible. The architecture of Wadham, too, has been markedly affected by the style of the county to which the Wadhams belonged; all who know Somerset will be instantly reminded

The Garden
Front Wad-
ham College

of its churches and dwelling-houses when they visit Wadham. The buildings of the college, however, have something else to recommend them than their important place in the history of architecture: there are few things in Oxford more lovely than the garden front, while the Hall is second only to that of Christ Church. The great characteristic of the work is that the architect[1] has trusted entirely to the beauty of his lines, and has employed carving nowhere except in the stone screen over the entrance to the Hall.

For the first century of its existence, Wadham was almost entirely a West-country college; two-thirds of its sons came from Somerset, Dorset, or Devon. Of these by far the most famous was the great Admiral, Robert Blake,* who graduated in 1617. The rapid rise of the college is shown in the amount of plate which was accumulated in one generation, to be sacrificed to the Royal cause; only the Communion plate and the Foundress' own cup were spared. But the members of Wadham suffered in person

[1] The traditional architect at Wadham is one Holt, of York, the architect of the Schools and of Merton College; the resemblance between the Fellows' Quad at Merton and that of Wadham seems too striking to be a mere coincidence. Mr T. G. Jackson, however, in his admirable "Architectural History of Wadham College," denies that Holt was the architect. Certainly in the accounts of the building of the college, which are preserved in the minutest detail (the total amount was £11,360), Holt appears as a mere working carpenter.

as well as in pocket; for the Warden and most of the fellows were expelled, and their places filled by persons more acceptable to the powers that were. The college, however, gained, though individuals lost, for the period of the usurpation is the most glorious in its history, under John Wilkins,* Cromwell's brother-in-law, who was intruded into the Warden's place in 1652. He had the rare honour of being promoted alike by the Commonwealth and by Charles II., who made him Bishop of Chester; and this he owed not to time-serving, but to his reputation for learning and to his successful intercession for the members of whichever side was beaten. His works on a universal language and on Natural Religion are forgotten, but he is remembered as one of the founders of the Royal Society, which, after its first meetings in London, took shape in Wilkins' lodgings at Wadham.[1]

It is very characteristic of the seventeenth century to read in the contemporary history of the Royal Society that the great advantage of the meetings was that "there was a race of young men provided against the next age, whose minds, receiving their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly armed against all the encroachments of enthusiasm."

Among its members at Wadham were the just-quoted historian, Sprat* (who as Bishop of Rochester has been unfortunate enough to be pilloried by Macaulay for his subservience to

[1] It did not receive its royal charter till 1662.

James II.), and, above all, Sir Christopher Wren,* who was a fellow commoner at Wadham from 1649 to 1653. The face of the clock which he presented to the college on leaving, still bears his arms; its works now rest in the ante-chapel after two hundred years of service. Other famous members of the college at this time were Sydenham,[1] the founder of modern medicine, and John Wilmot, the "wicked Earl of Rochester," whose death-bed repentance at Woodstock is described by Bishop Burnet in one of the most interesting and edifying little books of the seventeenth century.

After the Revolution Wadham is famous in Oxford history as being one of the few Whig colleges; probably in no other Hall are there portraits of both William III. and George I., though it must be confessed the College loyalty was satisfied with very bad art. Yet in spite of this it was probably a Wadham man, Trapp,* first Professor of Poetry, who wrote the famous epigram on the two Universities:—

"The King, observing with judicious eyes
The state of both his Universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
That learned body wanted loyalty.
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning,
How much that loyal body wanted learning."

To this period belongs the greatest of the Speakers of the House of Commons, Onslow *, [he presented a set of splendid service-books to

[1] Wren and Sydenham both obtained All Souls fellowships.

the chapel], and a little later the philosophical grammarian, James Harris; his portrait (perhaps Reynolds) in the Hall, is the best of the collection — the largest next to that of Christ Church. From the inglorious inactivity of the eighteenth century, Wadham was among the first colleges to emerge under the rule (1783-1806) of Warden Wills (by Hoppner), who deserves to be remembered not only as a liberal benefactor of his college and the University, but also as having laid out the garden, perhaps the most beautiful (for its size) of all Oxford gardens.

It is amusing to see how even a reforming head looked upon any innovation in Oxford. About 1794 a "society (of undergraduates) for Scientific and Literary Disquisition" was formed in Oxford, and wished to obtain the sanction of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Wills: their statutes were submitted to him, in which all topics of religious or political controversy were forbidden. But Dr Wills told them that though "there does not appear to be anything in these laws subversive of academic discipline, yet "it is impossible to predict how they may operate." He therefore felt himself compelled "to interdict their meeting in the manner proposed."

The first twenty years of the 19th century saw the matriculation of Wadham's only Lord Chancellor, Richard Bethell, Lord Westbury. It was no mere figure of speech when he says in the epitaph, put up at his own special request

in the college ante-chapel, that he "dated all his success in life from the time when he was elected a scholar of Wadham College at the age of fifteen." His brilliant success as an undergraduate in the schools caused him to be entrusted with his first brief by Brasenose, and began a rapid rise to fame and fortune. His bust now adorns the college Hall, while the book club that he founded still flourishes after more than ninety years' existence.

Under the long rule (1831-1871) of Warden Symons (by Pickersgill), Wadham was the centre of the Evangelical party in the University. In his Vice-Chancellorship (1844-8), Mr Ward of Balliol was "degraded" for his work on "The Ideal of a Christian Church," and an attempt was also made to condemn Tract No. XC. and its author, Dr Newman. Wadham had already been the scene of a meeting somewhat famous in the history of the "Oxford movement," when four well-known college tutors, of whom the late Archbishop Tait was one, met there and drew up a formal protest against Tract No. XC., thus indirectly causing the cessation of the Tracts.

But the most famous members of Wadham in Warden Symons' time were men of very different schools from himself; the leading English positivists, Dr Congreve, Frederic Harrison, and Professor Beesley were all members of the college together. Their influence in Wadham, however, was even more transient than that of their school seems likely to be in

England. Very different from these, and also from the Warden, were the late Dean of St Paul's (Dr Church, B.A., 1836), Father Mackonochie, Dr Walsham How * (Hugh Norris), the late Bishop of Wakefield, and Dr Johnson (* F. E. Calderon), late Bishop of Calcutta; the last of these was a member of the famous Wadham Eight, which in 1849 swept all before it at Henley. In Sir T. G. Jackson (* Hugh Rivière), too, Wadham, has the honour of having trained one who has left a greater mark on the buildings of Oxford than any other individual architect; and through Canon Barnett (* copy of G. F. Watts) of St Jude's, Whitechapel, the college took a foremost part in the Settlement movement, which aims at bringing the life of the Universities into connection with the toiling masses of our great cities. The first of the residential halls for students, in connection with Toynbee Hall, bears the name of "Wadham," in honour of Canon Barnett. Recently Wadham had in residence as scholars (1891-1896) Sir John A. Simon, F. E. Smith, who as Lord Birkenhead (* H. Mann) reached the Woolsack (1919) at the earliest age on record, and C. B. Fry, most famous of athletes.

Note.—The greatest of English scholars, Richard Bentley, is one of the glories of Cambridge, but he was "incorporated" at Wadham in 1689, and resided for a year, writing there his famous "Epistle to Mill," which placed him at once in the first rank among the learned men of his time; it was written as a contribution to a book edited by his Wadham friend Hody,* one of Oxford's most famous Greek professors, and a great benefactor of his college.

XXI

PEMBROKE COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—Of old Broadgates Hall, the predecessor of Pembroke, only the refectory is left; this is now the college Library, and lies on the right in entering the front quadrangle.

The rest of the front quadrangle was built at intervals during the seventeenth century—from 1624 to 1694—but the exterior was remodelled and Gothicised in 1829, and again modified in 1879. About seventy years ago the Master's lodgings (also dating from the seventeenth century), which lie to the right of the entrance, were remodelled on the outside, and a little later they were raised a storey. In the back quadrangle the chapel was consecrated in 1732. In 1884 it was elaborately decorated, and is now the most beautiful classical chapel-interior in Oxford; the work was carried out by a Pembroke man, the

well-known Mr C. E. Kempe. The rest of the back quadrangle was built in 1844; the new Hall is one of the most successful of modern Gothic buildings in Oxford.

PEMBROKE is one of the colleges which have a double history: it had existed as Broadgates Hall for centuries before it was raised by endowment into Pembroke College. Its most famous members under this name were Repyngdon who, having been a noted Wycliffite, ended his days as a cardinal and a persecutor, Bishop Bonner, whom Fuller describes as "scholar enough and tyrant too much," and the dramatists, Heywood and Francis Beaumont; the latter, like so many other Oxford poets of his own and of later days, left Oxford without taking his degree. Camden, the greatest of English antiquaries, too, began his University course here in 1567; the grace after meat composed by him is still in use at Pembroke.

Broadgates Hall had a special connection with the study of Civil Law, and used as library the room over the south aisle of St Aldate's Church;[1] the aisle itself served the students as a chapel. The commissioners of Edward VI., however, swept away the books, and the

[1] This interesting old church has been very much restored; modern criticism resolves the Saint into "Aldgate" or "Old Gate"; certainly the historical evidence for his existence is of the scantiest.

modern restorer with equal vandalism swept away the room; while Pembroke College had so little respect for its past that it parted, almost in our own day, with the patronage of this, its mother church. Broadgates Hall was so flourishing a foundation that at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1612), it was exceeded in numbers by only six others in Oxford; it had then 131 members out of some 3000 in the whole University. At this time died Thomas Tesdale,* a wealthy citizen of Abingdon, leaving by will £5000 for founding fellowships and scholarships from Abingdon at some college in Oxford. This benefaction was secured by Archbishop Abbot for Balliol, a college which, then as since, seems to have had a keen eye for any stray benefaction which it could annex; but the falling in of another benefaction, that of Richard Wightwick,* raised the ideas of the Corporation of Abingdon, and they not only resolved to have a college of their own, but made Balliol refund some of the money which had been already spent on buildings for the new fellows and scholars. This proceeding seems to have been very sharp practice, but Abbot comforted his suffering college by a text "Jehovah Jireh—God shall provide," and also by himself repaying the money to Pembroke.

The exaltation of Broadgates Hall into Pembroke College was a magnificent affair; King James gladly assumed the honours of Founder, though he did nothing else; and the Earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor of Oxford,

stood godfather: his name is still prominent in the quadrangle of the Schools, now absorbed by the Bodleian (p. 299); and Fuller says the college would probably have had "more than a bare name from him," had he not died suddenly soon after.

The ceremony of changing the hall into the college took place on August 5, 1624, when Dr Clayton, the last principal of Broadgates, became first master of Pembroke. He was a versatile person, being both a professor of music in Gresham College and a professor of medicine in Oxford. But the most famous name of those taking part in the ceremony, not excepting even the Vice-Chancellor Dr Prideaux himself (p. 87) is that of Thomas Browne, the author of the "Religio Medici," and other quaint and delightful works; he, as senior commoner of Broadgates Hall, delivered a Latin oration, in which the college was described as rising like a Phœnix out of its ruins. Another great member of Broadgates who contributed to the expenses of the new establishment, was John Pym, the founder of Parliamentary government in England.

The original foundation of Pembroke was almost confined to the natives of Abingdon or those educated at the School; but it soon received benefactions, among them one of the three fellowships for the Channel Islands, which were endowed by Charles I. The master and fellows were very loyal, and accordingly suffered at the hands of the Parliamentary Visitors; one

member of Pembroke, Collier, actually went so far as to head a plot against the Parliamentary garrison, but his attempt failed.

After the Restoration Prideaux describes Pembroke as "the fittest college in the town for brutes" (by which he appears to mean students from the Channel Islands); but then he was a Christ Church man, and neighbours proverbially see the worst side of each other. At all events, in the eighteenth century Pembroke seems to have been well governed, at least as compared with many other colleges. It certainly was blessed with a number of famous sons. Dr Johnson matriculated in 1728, George Whitefield in 1732 (the same year as Shenstone, whom his contemporaries thought a poet), Blackstone, the great lawyer in 1738; three such names in ten years would give distinction to any college. But it is round Dr Johnson that the interest mainly centres; though he was but in residence fourteen months (he stayed up, however, the whole of that time except one week) and took no degree, his affection for Oxford was most keen. His panegyric on its system is well known; "there is here, sir, such a progressive emulation; the students are anxious to appear well to their tutors; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the college"; and he esteemed his Doctor's degree one of the highest of his honours. It is fitting that his fine portrait by Reynolds should hang in the Senior Common Room (there is a copy of another by Reynolds in Hall), and that the

Library should possess his MSS. copy of his "Prayers and Meditations." Johnson loved to revisit Oxford, especially his old college, and took great pleasure just before his death in showing his friend, Hannah More, over Pembroke. His room, to which he led her, remains pretty well unaltered to this day; it is over the gateway in the second storey. He speaks most warmly of his tutors: of one of them he said "Whenever a young man becomes Jorden's pupil, he becomes his son." He was much affected by the "mild but judicious expostulations of the worthy Dr Adams, whose virtue awed him, and whose learning he revered." But he was too proud to own this, and there was another side to Johnson's undergraduate career; he "cut" his lectures, and told his tutor who fined him for this—"Sir, you have sconced me 2d. for a lecture not worth 1d." And he seems to have been a centre of disorder: "he was generally to be seen," says Bishop Percy, "lounging at the college gate with a circle of young students round him, whom he was entertaining with wit and keeping from their studies"; but he would not "let these idlers misuse the English tongue."

In spite of Johnson's poverty, he was a leading man, and seems to have taken a chief part in the hunting of the poor servitors, one of whose duties was to see that students were in their rooms. Had he been in Oxford a little longer, he might have hunted George Whitefield, who came up as a servitor from Gloucester; as it

was, the future preacher seems to have suffered no persecution except for his religion; he had "dirt thrown at" him, and some refused to employ him as servitor, because he had ranged himself on the side of the Methodists and "taken the Sacrament publicly on a week-day at St Mary's." Even the Master threatened to expel him if he ever visited the poor again. But Whitefield adds that his tutor was most kind to him, and "behaved quite like a father." With George Whitefield may be compared a very different servitor of rather a later date, John Moore, who rose to be Archbishop of Canterbury. He owed to the Master of Pembroke's recommendation his tutorship of the son of the Duke of Marlborough, and his own rise in the Church to the Duke's patronage. He had, it is said, won the good opinion of the Duke by declining the hand of the Dowager Duchess, when she offered it to him.

It is amusing to hear from Graves, the friend of Blackstone, who was an exact contemporary of Whitefield's, of the sets in Pembroke in his day; there was a reading set who met to study the less-known Greek authors, such as Theophrastus and Phalaris; and a hard-drinking set, who consumed ale and tobacco; and a set of "bucks of the first head," who only drank wine and punch, and so despised the other set as "very low." And there were the "plain matter-of-fact men," who associated with all, and were keenly interested in politics. Graves

knew Shenstone, who, like Beaumont, left Pembroke without a degree.

In the 19th century, Pembroke has been made far more prominent as a college than it was during the first two centuries of its existence. It was in 1820 that it had its first Vice-Chancellor; since then, a strange combination of circumstances has given it two more, one of whom, Dr Jeune (* Tweedie), almost doubled the size of his college. Of its famous men in this century, it is not necessary here to speak, but in writing of Dr Johnson's college, the name of the latest and best editor of Boswell, the late Dr Birkbeck Hill, cannot be passed over; his collection of books as to the great "Doctor" has (as was fitting) found a permanent place in the library of their common college.[1] Pembroke has been fortunate of recent years in benefactions to its library, for it has received also the unique Aristotelian collection of the late Professor Chandler, who was a member of this college.

[1] Dr Johnson's teapot, too, was presented by his biographer to the Senior Common Room.

XXII

WORCESTER COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—In no college is there so marked a contrast in buildings as in Worcester. On the left hand, in entering, are the quaint old monastic "*mansiones*," among the most picturesque things in Oxford, which belonged to Gloucester College. The entrance block itself, and the buildings to the right hand on entering, are the spacious and dignified but somewhat monotonous erections of the eighteenth century. The old monastic buildings have been admirably described by Antony Wood; they are "divided by particular roofs, partitions, and various forms of structure, and known from each other, like so many colonies and tribes, by arms and rebuses, that are depicted and cut in stone over each door." Of these emblems, most are defaced beyond recognition; but over the door, at the S.W.

corner, the comb and tun are the rebus of W. Compton, Abbot of Pershore, 1504-1527. The small "Pump" Quad to the S.E. is also originally monastic, but even more transformed.

In the entrance block, the Library, completed in 1746 from the design of its great benefactor, Dr Clarke * of All Souls, contains one of the finest College collections in Oxford; the Clarke papers are especially famous. The Hall was not finished till 1784, the chapel even later, and the buildings on the N. side of the quadrangle at intervals between 1753 and 1773. The eighteenth century builders had intended to make a clean sweep of mediæval picturesqueness; but here, as at Magdalen and at Trinity, funds were fortunately lacking. The chapel, begun 1720, was altered and elaborately decorated by Mr Burges, 1863-4; it is so dark that the effect is spoiled, but the general scheme is the illustration of the Te Deum and the Benedicite, the words of which are inscribed on the walls and in the cornice.

THE buildings which now form part of Worcester College carry us back to the days of Walter de Merton. The regular clergy were

Old Buildings
Worcester Coll:
E H N

as anxious as the secular to have proper homes for their students in Oxford, and five years after the foundation of the first college, the general chapter of the Benedictine Order decided to establish a Hall in Oxford, and imposed for this purpose on all their foundations a tax of one-eightieth part of their revenues. Before this arrangement could be carried out, the monastery at Gloucester received from the liberality of an individual, John Giffarde, Baron of Brimsfield, the site of the present college, on which he founded a house of study for thirteen monks. Within ten years this foundation was thrown open to all Benedictine houses, which had each to defray the expenses of their own students. The college thus founded plays little part in University history; the Benedictines were not, like the Friars, pushing men of affairs, abreast of all the movements of the time. The only names of note are those of Abbot John, of Whethamstead, familiar to modern readers from Froude's "Chronicles of an English Abbey," and Thomas Walsingham, the chronicler, also a monk from St Albans.

With the Reformation this monastic college perished. Henry VIII. transferred it for a time to his new see of Oxford, but he resumed it again; robbing the Church was always more congenial to Henry than endowing it. With the second year of Elizabeth the buildings entered on their second stage of usefulness as Gloucester Hall. This was the

foundation of Sir Thomas White, who is said to have originally intended to place St John's here. It is a curious chance that fifty years later Wadham College was nearly founded on the same spot, but Dorothy Wadham and the then Principal could not agree as to terms. The new Hall, which thus twice escaped being made a college, was partly dependent on St John's, which owned its site and buildings, and let them in leases renewed every twenty years. At one time it was a very successful foundation, and had as many as one hundred members; this paid the Principal well, as the room rents furnished his salary. But in the bad times after the Restoration the Hall sank into very low water; it had no students matriculated for four years, and the "paths became grass-grown." In fact, only the Principal, Eaton, and his family were left, and he found the burden of chimney money almost more than he could bear. "He hath made great complaints about the town, and created us very good sport," says the uncharitable Prideaux, "but the old fool hath been forced to pay the money." Things could hardly have been as bad as he says, for the daughter* of this Principal, forty years later, had affection enough for the old place to leave it a large benefaction.

Before describing the vigorous and pushing man who turned Gloucester Hall into a college, a word must be said as to its distinguished sons during its century and a half of existence. Of these the earliest and the most distinguished

was Thomas Allen, the astrologer and mathematician, who resided for sixty-two years. Longevity has always been a strong point at Worcester, and the late Provost, Dr Cotton, kept seventy years of unbroken residence. Allen was respected by all the scholars of his time, *e.g.*, Savile, Camden, Selden, and Sir Thomas Bodley. The last showed his esteem in a curious way, for he left Allen "his second best gown and cloak," and Allen in return left the Bodleian some of its most valuable MSS. But the vulgar suspected his "figuring and conjuring." His servant used to say that "he met the spirits coming up the stairs like bees." Hence he was coupled with Dr Dee as the agent of the Earl of Leicester for the black arts, and Scott may have borrowed some points from him for his character of Alasco in "Kenilworth." It was before this time that the dead body of Leicester's unfortunate wife, Amy Robsart, was brought to Gloucester Hall, and lay there till it was buried at St Mary's. A famous pupil of Allen's, who was at the Hall, was Sir Kenelm Digby, who inherited his master's belief in magic, and is said to have killed his wife by an experiment which was intended to perfect her great beauty. Richard Lovelace, the poet, may be also mentioned.

The last Principal of the Hall, and the man who raised it to its present rank as a college, was Dr Benjamin Woodroffe, Canon of Christ Church. He was a special object of dislike to his contemporary, Prideaux, who is full of

stories as to his folly and meddling; he preaches "the most scandalous dunceall sermon, as is agreed by all that heard it"; at another time he flirts publicly in his rooms in Christ Church with a lady whose hand he wished to secure, "fanning himself in the window with her fan all the afternoon." But there is no doubt that Prideaux does Woodroffe injustice; he would be admired in our day for what his critic condemns,—his intention to publish a curious seaman's journal which had come into his hands; and even Prideaux at last says that he thinks Woodroffe, who was talked of for a bishopric, would make a better bishop than most people fancy.

It was this pushing, busy man who became head of Gloucester Hall in 1692. His first scheme for reviving the fortunes of his foundation was a strange one. All through the seventeenth century there had been maintained a connexion, more or less close, between the Greek and the English Church. As the result of this, Greek scholars came at intervals to England, and Woodroffe, the new Principal of Gloucester Hall, conceived the brilliant idea of having a special college for them in Oxford, where the services and exercises should be performed in Greek. He wrote about it to the Patriarch, and asked for subscriptions to carry out this scheme; in all there were to be twenty Greeks in Oxford. Five actually came in 1698, and a few more after; but the experiment was not a success; the Roman Catholics got hold of some,

and others fell into bad ways, and in 1705 the Patriarch forbade any more students to come. Dr Woodroffe seems to have been partially responsible for the failure of the scheme, for he looked after neither the studies nor the accommodation of his students. His talents were speculative and not practical.

But he had now another scheme on hand. Sir Thomas Cookes,*a Worcestershire man, had announced that he was proposing to leave £10,000 to Oxford. There was a perfect swarm of claimants for it, including all the Halls and Balliol College. However, Woodroffe got it, and in 1698 an elaborate scheme was passed for the arrangements of the new college. But even after this Sir Thomas held back; the site of Worcester was not freehold and St John's made difficulties; both the coy donor and the unfortunate Principal died before the business was finally settled by Worcester securing the money and starting on its career in 1714.

Numerous benefactors came forward to help the new foundation, especially Dr Clarke*of All Souls; he gave not only money and the design for his buildings, but also his library, and it is among his books that in our own day the Cromwellian scholar, Sir C. H. Firth, has unearthed the Clarke papers and so many other seventeenth century treasures.

About 1740 Worcester acquired its lovely garden and the meadows to the West of it from St John's, but these were not laid out till 1827: the name of the Bursar who did this, Richard

Greswell, deserves to be remembered, even if his share in refounding (1843) the National Society be forgotten. In our own century Worcester has been brought within the reach of the rest of the University by the opening of Beaumont Street about 1820. Previously it could only be reached by a circuitous route through George Street, or by the narrow alley which is still called Friars' Entry. Even the University recognised the difficulties of getting there, for a man of Gloucester Hall was excused for non-attendance when his grace was asked at St Mary's, "because of the distance and the wind being against him he could not hear the bell." Cox, the bedell, in his "Recollections of Oxford," draws a comic picture of the stately Vice-Chancellor, Dr Landon,* with his maces before him, threading his way up Friars' Entry, through clothes hanging out to dry and among swarming children. The remoteness of Worcester College and its gardens conjointly have won for it the nickname of "Botany Bay."

The most famous name at Worcester during Dr Landon's provostship, is that of Thomas de Quincey, the English opium-eater, who lived on No. 10 Staircase. He was already odd, for he astonished the college by "scratching" in the middle of an examination in which he was expected to do very well. Dr Landon was succeeded by Dr Cotton,* whose long reign lasted down to our own day, and who is one of the "Twelve good men" so charmingly described by Dean Burgon.

XXIII

KEBLE COLLEGE

KEBLE COLLEGE owes its origin to two modern movements; one is the revival of Church feeling, to which the scholar and poet whose name it bears gave so powerful an impulse; the other is the democratic feeling of the century, which desires that the advantages of the best education should be shared by all. It was these feelings which, as early as 1845, led to a widely-signed memorial being presented to the Hebdomadal Board, suggesting that Oxford ought to do something to provide higher education on Church lines for those who were too poor to profit by the existing colleges. Among the signatories of this memorial were the great Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Gladstone. The subject was taken up by the Vicar of St Mary's, the saintly Charles Marriott of Oriel, but his premature death in 1858 prevented anything coming of the scheme. It was not till 1865 that the question was revived. A committee of Oxford residents was appointed, presided over by Dr Shirley,* and including some of the most distinguished professors. Immediately after the produc-

tion of their report, which sketched a college embodying the main features of Keble, John Keble died. It was felt that the movement would gain by being associated with his name, and that its success would be the best tribute to his memory. More than £50,000 was at once raised, and in Michaelmas term, 1870, Keble College was opened. At that time the present North, East, and West blocks of the larger quadrangle were completed, from the design of Mr Butterfield. As to their artistic success, opinions vary. It is, at any rate, a pity that the architect's fondness for loud and striking colours was not kept more in check.

The special features of Keble as a foundation are numerous. Its government is in the hands, not of a body of self-electing fellows, but of the Council, which represents the original subscribers, and which appoints the Warden, who is its Chairman, and nominates its tutors; hence Keble is not a college, in the strict sense of the word, as it lacks independence. This is reflected in the arrangements of the magnificent chapel, which was entirely given by Mr Gibbs of Tyntesfield, and opened in 1876. Here the seats are not arranged N. and S., as in college chapels or cathedral choirs, for members of a foundation, but all facing E., as in an ordinary parish church.

The inner life of Keble, too, is different from that of other colleges. With a view to economy, a fixed payment (of £82 a year) is substituted for the ordinary battels of other

colleges, which vary according to a man's individual tastes and needs; and common meals in Hall take the place of the separate meals, which, with the exception of dinner, men elsewhere have in their own rooms. This feature, too, is reflected in the buildings, where the rooms are arranged along corridors running through the whole block, and not upon separate staircases. The advantages of Keble, too, are restricted to members of the Church of England. The magnificence of the chapel symbolises this; here, in every form of rich decoration, is expressed the idea of the continuity of the Church. The main body of the chapel is adorned with scenes and figures from the Old Testament; these find their antitypes in the mosaics of the sanctuary, which represent the great events in the life of our Lord, while His Figure in mosaic above the altar is the culminating point up to which all the other pictures lead.

Whether Keble has realised the intentions of its founders, it is too soon yet to say. They certainly have succeeded in giving Oxford another and a deservedly successful college; but that it is specially economical, or that it draws from a class before unprovided for, is to say the least doubtful. With good reason the college has enjoyed the liberality of English Churchmen. The splendid Hall and Library were began in 1876, these also being gifts of the Gibbs family. The latter used to contain Holman Hunt's beautiful picture, "The Light of the World," which has now been transferred to

the chapel;[1] this was the gift of Mrs Combe, the munificent donor of the Holman Hunt pictures in the University Gallery (see p. 318). The MSS. of Mr Keble, including an autograph copy of the greater part of the *Christian Year*, and the library of Dr Liddon, give the collection of books a special interest.

The Hall has already been enriched with some portraits, of which the most important are Richmond's posthumous painting of Keble, and those of the first Warden, Dr Talbot, late Bishop of Winchester, and of the Rev. Aubrey Moore, one of the authors of "Lux Mundi," whose premature death was so great a loss to his college and the whole University; both these are, to speak gently, most unfortunate as likenesses. More successful is the early portrait of Dr Liddon, who was a member of the Council.

Keble is too young a foundation to have as yet many distinguished sons, but of its first tutors two became bishops, Dr Mylne and Dr Jayne, late of Bombay and of Chester. Dr Winnington Ingram, the Bishop of London, was an undergraduate there; and it has given a minister to the Liberal party and a governor to South Africa in Lord Gladstone.

[1] It can be seen any week day (10-12.30; 2-5) by ticket (6d. each, admitting two), to be obtained at the porter's lodge.

XXIV

HERTFORD COLLEGE

BUILDINGS.—The buildings of this college, as seen from inside the quadrangle, are picturesque in their variety, but are not imposing. The oldest part is the Library (formerly the Hall), on New College Street, which is Elizabethan. Next in date is the part opposite the gateway, which is Jacobean. The S.E. angle of the quad and the old chapel (consecrated in 1716) are the work of the indefatigable Dr Newton, and the two houses, joined by the Hall and gateway, were built in 1822; they are painfully like private hotels. Since 1889 Hertford has been doubled in size (from the designs of Sir T. G. Jackson). First came the Hall and the rooms on the N. side of the Quad (1889), then the block (1903) beyond New College Street, then the beautiful chapel (1908), and, finally (1913), the "Bridge of Sighs," uniting the two parts of the college.

THE history of Hertford College is the most chequered in the University. The present foundation only dates from 1874, but it unites the traditions and some of the buildings of Hart Hall, which existed on this site as far back as the thirteenth century, with those of Magdalen Hall, to which the University transferred the site and buildings in 1816; old Magdalen Hall, which was on the site of the St Swithun's buildings of Magdalen College, was burned down in 1820, and its dispossessed members took possession of their new home in 1822. To add to the complication, Hart Hall had been Hertford College for the last sixty years of its existence.

Of old Hart Hall there is not very much to record; it was occupied by the members of Exeter and by those of New College before their own buildings were ready for them. In fact, William of Wykeham seems to have bought Hart Hall from a community of nuns, who had no claim to sell it; as Mr Rashdall says, "nuns had a great reputation as women of business." One name only need be mentioned of the members of the Hall—that of the famous John Selden; he is one of the best instances in English history of the combination of politician and scholar, for he was not only a champion of English liberty against the early Stuarts, but also the "dictator of English learning" in his day, and his knowledge ranged from Syrian deities to tithes, his book on which is still a standard authority.

The story of the transformation of Hart Hall

into Hertford College is one of the most curious in the history of Oxford. The then Principal, Dr Newton,* was a remarkable man, with an extraordinary desire to reform his Hall and the University generally, and an equally extraordinary fondness for writing pamphlets. His first great battle was about migrations from his Hall; one of his pupils, Seaman, who had been punished at Hart Hall for cutting lectures, refusing to do impositions and hissing the tutors, was admitted at Oriel College. Of course he had no "Bene discessit," and Newton thundered against the Provost of Oriel as if the whole of University discipline were at stake; the Provost, Dr Carter, took refuge in silence, so that a wag wrote—

"O endless question, should it last so long
Till Carter speaks, or Newton holds his tongue."

Another of Newton's scholars wanted to follow Seaman's example, and migrate to Balliol; he was allowed to go because he could get a scholarship (of £3), but he offended Newton by saying he could live more cheaply at Balliol. The Principal proceeded to show that the man's terminal expenses at Hart Hall had been £7 8s 17s. 1d., and that he himself lived as the undergraduates did. "Tenpence a day hath paid for my breakfast, dinner, and supper, even when there was ale in the society which now there is not." This last passage refers to Newton's putting down the old strong ale, and confining his men to "small beer"; even this he stopped at last. Newton's discipline led to sneers in the University against his "regimen of small beer

and apple dumplings." One other excuse for migration must be mentioned; a man went to Trinity, because it had a very fine garden which would be good for his health; Newton let him go, but read him a lesson on the virtue of obedience as illustrated by the Trinity Lime Walk "obedient to the bender's will."

Meanwhile for twenty years he struggled to get his charter of incorporation for Hertford College. This was resisted by some of the fellows of Exeter, who claimed that Hart Hall belonged to them, because it had always paid a rent of £1, 13s. 4d. since the days of their Founder. The Attorney General ruled that they had no rights beyond this payment, but private influence was able to thwart Newton, who, says Hearne, was called "Founder mad." At last, however, he got his way, and Hertford College was founded 1740. Its endowments were of the scantiest, for unluckily one of Newton's friends who had promised an estate if the college were incorporated, died during the long delay; Newton's own endowment was £53, 6s. 8d., but he tried to make up by elaboration of statutes for scantiness of endowment. Nothing was too minute for mention: the way in which lectures were to be given and themes were to be corrected is prescribed, and so is the amount which is to be paid for a commons of meat at dinner—3d.—and the way in which it is to be served. The joint was to be brought in, and men were to help themselves in order of seniority; but if the senior took too much or "in an unhandsome manner"

(*i.e.*, "hacked the joint," for undergraduate carving is proverbially bad), then the junior might ask to have the meat "sent up in messes." The hours of work are carefully settled, and, by a strange provision, the men were not allowed in each others' rooms during them, *i.e.*, before noon or from 2 to 6 P.M. This order was to be enforced by the tutors, one of whom was to live in each corner of the college, and have eight men under him; Newton built one such corner block, *i.e.*, that on the S.E. Not more than eight men were to be admitted each year, and the tutor was to superintend their education all through their time; but the Principal, if he "delight in the education of youth," and "it shall be made worth his while," may have one pupil himself; in this capacity the future Prime Minister, Henry Pelham, was Newton's own pupil.

Newton was eager to reform the lack of discipline (no one was under any circumstances to be admitted into Hertford after 10 P.M.), the extravagance in dress, and the general expensiveness of Oxford life. The tutors were to supervise the pupils' expenditure, receive their quarterly allowances, pay their debts, and hand over the balance, in whole or in part, according as he "shall be satisfied of the pupil's discretion." It should be recorded to Newton's credit that he never asked any thing for himself, though he had great weight with his old pupil, Pelham, and might have been made a bishop.

He died in 1753, and his college survived for half a century; its most famous pupil was Charles

James Fox,* who is said to have read so hard that his father, Lord Holland, took him away without a degree. He did something else, however, as well as read, for on one occasion when the gates were shut, he jumped from his window into Cat Street (*i.e.*, St Catherine's Street) to take part in a town and gown row.

But the lack of endowments crushed the college. When Dr Hodgson died in 1805, there were only two fellows and no pupils left, and no one could be found willing to take the headship except the senior of these, Hewitt, who was half mad. He "nominated and admitted" himself Principal, and wrote endless letters to get himself recognised; in one of these he ingeniously argues that if he was not qualified to be head, then his predecessor, Dr Durell, also was not qualified; but Dr Durell had been Vice-Chancellor; so the University itself was dissolved, and all its acts were null and void. Meantime the buildings were deserted, and were "squatted in" by all sorts of odd characters. As if to mark the decaying state of the college, part of the building in Cat Street fell down in 1820. It was accordingly decided by a commission that Hertford College had ceased to exist, and the buildings were transferred by Royal Letters Patent to the University, to be held in trust for Magdalen Hall, the members of which body took possession of them in 1822. The scanty endowments were applied to the foundation of the Hertford University Scholarship.

Magdalen Hall had been founded by William of Waynflete, and in the sixteenth century had the honour of educating Tyndale,* the translator of the Bible, and Daniel the poet. In it the Puritan traditions of the college were continued. At one time it had as many as 300 members, and in 1640 its students pulled down the May-pole at Holywell, which offended their Puritan feelings. It supplied a large number of the scholars, who were intruded into the other colleges by the Puritan Visitors, *e.g.*, Dr Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham. It boasted, too, of having trained two judges of very different character, L'Isle, the president of the High Court of Justice, and the universally beloved Sir Matthew Hale, and among its members were two leading statesmen of the opposing parties, Lord Clarendon * and Sir Henry Vane. Even more famous was the philosopher Hobbes,* who, by a curious chance, was a member of this Puritan foundation. Swift also took his *ad eundem* degree from Dublin at Magdalen Hall.

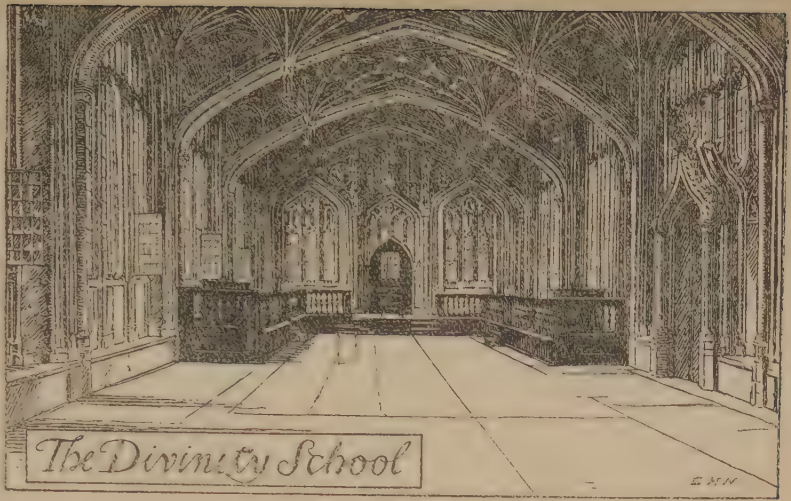
It was these traditions which were brought to the much disputed site at the head of St Catherine's Street, and for fifty years Magdalen Hall lasted there. Then the great banker, Mr Baring, once more erected Hertford College, this time with ample endowments. It was a curious chance which enabled a nineteenth century founder to combine in a new foundation, which yet was not new, the traditions of a mediæval hall, of Puritan ascendancy, and of an eighteenth century academic reformer.

XXV

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

THE oldest part of the Bodleian is that over the Divinity School,[1] which is known as Duke Humphrey's Library; it was building all through the middle of the fifteenth century (1444-1480), and is unique among great libraries, with its curious studies lined with old books and looking over the beautiful garden of Exeter College. Its present elaborate roof was added by Sir Thomas Bodley, when he restored the Library at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In one respect only has it changed; in 1700 it was found that the weight of books was crushing the walls out of the perpen-

[1] This most glorious of the rooms which belong to the University was built at the same time as the Library; its ceiling is a splendid example of Perpendicular work. The Divinity School is associated with the last days of Cranmer, who here maintained his doctrine as to the Holy Eucharist against the Roman controversialists, and it was also the meeting-place of the Parliament of Charles I.


The Divinity School
E.H.N.

dicular. Sir Christopher Wren was called in to advise, and at his direction the buttresses were strengthened; as enlarged by him, they form a very picturesque feature in Exeter College garden.

The first part to be added to the Bodleian was the east wing, which was erected 1610-1612. It stands over the entrance to the Divinity School, which is called by the familiar name of the "Pig Market." The west wing (known as the Selden wing) was added about twenty years later, over Laud's Convocation House, a building which has ever since been used by the University for its business; it is very quaint, with its curious late Gothic and its hard, backless benches.

The quadrangle to the E. was completed (1613-1619) in the reign of James I., and served for two and a half centuries for examinations. It is now absorbed by the Library, for the Hope Collection of portraits (about 200,000) has been transferred to the Ashmolean, giving room for the Backhouse Collection of Chinese books. The upper floor is the Picture Gallery, while its N. arm is now (1907) used for readers and for the catalogue. The Tower of the Schools'

quadrangle, with its curious blending of all the five orders of classic architecture, is picturesque if not beautiful.

But the most wonderful addition to the buildings of the Bodleian is the Camera Radcliffiana —more commonly known as the "Radcliffe." Its graceful dome, in the very centre of Oxford, most appropriately belongs to the great centre of Oxford's studies. It was erected (finished 1749) from the designs of Gibbs, being one of the magnificent foundations of Dr John Radcliffe. The Camera was lent in 1860 by its trustees to serve as a reading-room for the Bodleian, while the scientific library, which it had previously contained, was transferred to the new museum. It is devoted to the reception of modern books. As it is not locally connected with the Bodleian, artificial lights are allowed in it, and thanks to this, the readers in the Oxford Library can work for longer hours than in any other great library of the world. A student who can do without food may spend thirteen hours a day over his books—but this is not usual.

The basement of the Ashmolean Museum, too,

has been adapted for the storage of Bodleian books Finally, in June 1909, the bold plan was adopted of excavating on the N. side of the "Radcliffe" a chamber calculated to hold 1,000,000 books and so to provide for the increase of the next forty years. This, completed 1910, but not used till 1912, is not a great success.

THERE[1] is no doubt that, with the world of scholars at any rate, Oxford's most famous institution is the Bodleian; it is in its Library that Oxford ranks easily first among the universities of the world, and it is to read in the Bodleian that students especially come to Oxford from other lands.

The first University collection of books had its home in the N.E. Chapel of St Mary's (p. 31), but the real founder of the Oxford Library is Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, with whose name begins the list of University benefactors, solemnly recited at Commemoration and on other great occasions: Englishmen generally have no cause to bless the Duke, who, by his self-will and obstinacy, ruined the national fortunes in France; but he was popular in his own day, and Oxford men at least may remember him with gratitude. Between 1439 and 1446 he presented the huge number of 600 MSS., and he responded to the prayer of the

[1] In the following pages a star (*) means that the book referred to is on view in the show cases of the Library.

grateful University by assisting in the building of a proper library to receive them. Though it was not finished for a generation after his death, the old room, as is fitting, bears his name, and truly answers to the description which the University gave of it when offering the Duke the title of "Founder," as being "far removed from all worldly noise." But though Duke Humphrey's library remains, his books do not; the "reforming" zeal of Edward VI.'s commissioners dispersed these to the four winds of heaven as being "Popish," though the Duke's tastes had been modern, and it was not the schoolmen whom he had loved but the classical writers and even modern authors like Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

The Library was left bare and empty, and in 1556, the University, having no longer any books, appointed a committee of five to "sell the shelves"; and so Duke Humphrey's library was bare indeed. Of the books thus scattered only four have found their way back to their home (and the claim of two of these to be the Duke's is very doubtful); among these the "Epistles of Pliny" * contains his autograph.

But the Bodleian was to rise like a Phœnix from the ashes of the old library. Sir Thomas Bodley (p. 80), after long serving his country abroad as a diplomatist, "concluded at the last to set up his staff at the Library door of Oxford." He proposed not only to refit the old building, but to furnish it with books and with an endowment; he made this offer in 1598, and in 1602

the Library was open, thus being the oldest public library in Europe.

Bodley chose for his Librarian, James of New College, who was Rector of St Aldate's Church; he seems to have been in every way worthy of the post, except that, to the Founder's great grief, he insisted on the statute against marriage being relaxed in his favour. With one other exception, he was the only married Librarian till the statute was altered in 1813. Conspicuous among Sir Thomas' own gifts is the beautiful French MS. of the "Romance of Alexander," * with its quaint pictures of trades, amusements, etc., at the foot of its pages.

The Founder not only gave himself, he induced others to give, and, above all, he obtained from the Stationers a promise to present a copy of all books printed by members of their company. Of course, many difficulties were made as to the carrying out of this contract, until finally, in 1709, the first Copyright Act was passed, by which a copy of all works entered at Stationers' Hall had to be deposited in the Bodleian and eight other libraries. This privilege is now limited to six (the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, the National Libraries of Scotland and of Wales, and Trinity College Dublin).

With a view of encouraging benefactors, Bodley presented the Library with a great Register,* in which their names were to be recorded. The Bodleian early began to enjoy royal favour; King James in 1605 visited it, and was pleased to say that its Founder ought

to have been called "Sir Thomas Godly," and that he would wish to be a captive there, chained like the books. Moreover, he presented a folio copy of his works in 1620 to the "most holy temple of Mnemosyne." This was brought to Oxford by the Royal Librarian, to whom the University presented £20 for his pains, and it was received by the Librarian, Rous, in a "prettie speech," in which, among other compliments, he said that probably, in the other world, Sir Thomas Bodley was rendered happier by the glory of that day. Far more interesting to our own time are the memorials of a greater sovereign, Queen Elizabeth; the Library possesses not only an exercise book,* which had been shared by her and her brother Edward, but also a translation of Ochino's "De Christo," * which she made as a New Year's gift for her brother, the King. There is also shown a translation made (and bound) by her when aged 11, of "the miroir of the synnefull soule." Equally interesting is the "Gospel Book," * which belonged to the good Queen Margaret (St Margaret) of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and which, according to the verses inscribed in it, was the subject of a miracle, for it fell into the water, and was recovered unhurt.

Charles I. visited the Library on more than one occasion, and is said to have here consulted the "Sortes Virgilianae" with the most unhappy result; he had been persuaded by Lord Falkland to try his luck, and opened on the passage—

"Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace.

. .

And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace."
[Dryden's Translation.]

Lord Falkland only made matters worse, when, hoping to remove the bad effect of the unlucky omen, he too opened the Virgil; his passage was that on the untimely death of Pallas:—

"O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields and fights to come."

Charles, on one occasion, while in Oxford, asked to have a book sent him from the Library, but the Librarian, Rous, himself waited on the King, and showed him that such a favour was quite forbidden by the Founder's statutes. The King graciously gave way, and commended the zeal of the Librarian for his duties; and a similar respect for authority was shown by Oliver Cromwell, when he had asked for the loan of a book for a foreigner. He ranks among the benefactors of the Library, to which he presented more than twenty MSS.; but this gift of "a usurper" was never entered in the great Benefaction book.

The memorials of England's great writers, however, are far more valuable than those of the Royal visitors. Shakspere is represented by his First Folio and by an "Ovid" containing his signature; this was acquired in 1865 for only £9, because doubts were entertained of its genuineness; it is now, however, believed to be authentic.

Spenser is represented by an extremely rare book, "Howleglas," which he had wagered to his friend Gabriel Harvey, against a copy of Lucian; Harvey won it by reading it and other books within the given time, but complains in an autograph note that he had "trifled away so many hours as were idly overpassed in running through the foresaid foolish books"; he thought them not "comparable for subtle and crafty feats with John Miller" (sung of by Skelton). This book came, by a curious chance, among the learned folios—of Classics, Theology, Law, and Science—of the great scholar, John Selden.*

Both these priceless relics, of course, were acquired long after the days of the writers; but many English authors have themselves presented their works. The first of these is Samuel Daniel, who in 1601, wrote in the "newly augmented" edition of his poems, an address to his book which begins:—

"Heere in this goodly Magazine of witte,
This Storehouse of the choisest furniture
The world doth yeelde, here in this exquisite
And most rare monument, that doth immure
The glorious reliques of the best of men,
Thou, part imperfect work, vouchsafed art
A little roome."

Daniel seems conscious of his time spent at Oxford, when, as Wood says, "his glory was more prone to easier and smoother studies than picking and hewing at Logic, and he left without a degree." In 1647 Milton sent, at the Librarian's request, a copy of his "Poems," both Latin and English (1645), with a long autograph Latin

Ode *; he also presented another book of his to the "*Memoriæ perpetuæ Fanum*," as he calls the Bodleian. Both these were in the eighteenth century turned out with a number of other duplicates, from which Crynes, who tells the story, was allowed to help himself; fortunately, he was too good a royalist to take the book of a regicide, and so Milton's gifts remained in the Bodleian in spite of the blunders of its authorities.

Second only to Milton's gifts in interest are the relics of Shelley, which were bequeathed quite recently by Lady Shelley; his autograph MSS. of "Prometheus Unbound," and of other poems, are now in view, with his portrait and the copy of Sophocles, which after his drowning was found by Trelawney in his pocket.

But the Bodleian has associations with others, not less interesting than the English poets. Foremost among these is Archbishop Laud, who, among his numerous benefactions to the University, especially singled out the Bodleian. At intervals between 1635 and 1640, he sent down about 1300 MSS., besides coins and curiosities of all kinds; of these the most famous is the great Codex Laudianus * of the Acts of the Apostles, one of the chief authorities for the text of the New Testament, and a book which probably was once used by the great scholar Bede. The letter which the archbishop sent down in 1640 with his last gift is very touching; he apologises for the shortness of his letter and the scantiness of his gift, but he sees that "the

stars hardly keep their courses or yield but feeble light from the dense masses of cloud." So he has resolved, he tells the Vice-Chancellor, to place his treasures "in safety, *i.e.*, I hope, with you"; and it is pleasant to think that his hopes have been fulfilled. When Oxford was taken by the Parliamentarian army, Sir T. Fairfax made it his first care to guard the Bodleian against possible mischance from the more fanatic of his followers. But even among these the Bodleian found friends; Hugh Peters, the independent, presented a great Dutch Bible, "bound in silk and gold." And the Register shows that the number of readers still kept up; it is not necessary to take too seriously the macaronic verses of a royalist poet, who describes in the Bodleian—

> "Neglectos vidi libros multos,
> Quod minime mirandum,
> Nam inter bardos Tot et stultos
> There's few could understand 'em."

And the next great benefaction came from a Parliamentarian, John Selden, who died in 1654; he seems to have had some difference with the Librarian, because he was not allowed to borrow a MS. without exorbitant security; but partly through his own will and partly through his executors, the Library became possessed of some 8000 books and MSS.; among these is a copy of the first book printed in English, Caxton's collection of "The Histories of Troye"* (1474).

The largest benefaction of MSS. which the

Library ever received was that of the indefatigable antiquary, Dr Richard Rawlinson, the nonjuring Bishop (p. 250). He died in 1755, leaving the University nearly 5000 MSS., besides printed books and many pictures and curiosities; some of the "Holbeins" in the gallery came from him. He had been a collector in days when energy and intelligence, rather than a long purse, were the requisites for success; it is curious to read how he picked up for a few pence the original minute book of the High Commission Court, giving an authentic account of the proceedings which more than anything else ruined James II. On another occasion he "rescued from the grocers, chandlers, &c.," a large number of papers as to the negotiations which brought William of Orange into England. Even more interesting from the Oxford point of view are the 150 volumes of Hearne's diary, reaching over thirty years, and containing that marvellous collection of University stories, Jacobite gossip, and antiquarian learning, which has been a storehouse of good things ever since for the lover of Oxford. Rawlinson had bought these of Hearne's widow for £105. So huge was the Rawlinson bequest that it overwhelmed the staff of the Library, and many of the treasures were not even looked at for more than a century.

Two more bequests must be briefly mentioned: in 1809 came the collection of antiquarian and topographical works, which had been formed by Gough, and in 1834, the

rarities of the Douce collection. Nearly all the finest examples of missal painting which are in the Bodleian came at this time, and how fine they are a glance at the cases of books exhibited will show. It was reported on good authority that Douce selected the Bodleian for this priceless bequest, on account of the courtesy which had been shown to him by the Librarian, Dr Bandinel, when he visited the Library.

No doubt another great reason was the fact that the Bodleian, according to its Founder's statutes, does not lend its books out. The result is that it has been able to take more care of its treasures, and has lost fewer than any other great library except the British Museum. Not that even the Bodleian has been scatheless; Paulus, the German author of the once notorious *Leben Jesu*, carried off a valuable Arabic MS., which was only recovered fifty years later. But if the Bodleian has lost by dishonesty of this kind, it has also gained; one of the earliest gifts that it received was a Greek MS. which had been stolen from New College Library only the year before, and the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602 had calmly presented Sir Thomas Bodley with some eighty books from their Chapter Library, including the famous Leofric missal. They cared not for the donor's curse recorded in the book, that "If any man take this book away from the Church of St Peter at Exeter, let him be ever accursed." But no amount of precaution has ever been able to check the bibliographic thief, and the Library

has, for nearly a century and a half, given up the iron chains by which once its folios were all secured. In 1769 no less than nineteen cwts. of these were sold as old iron. Fortunately the Library has not often suffered from outrages of a different kind such as Antony Wood describes in 1660, when Milton's and Godwin's controversial works were removed from it. In the days of the first Librarian, books of this "heretical and schismatical" kind were not allowed to be read without special leave of the Vice-Chancellor and the Regius Professor of Divinity.

In our own day the Library seems more likely to suffer from keeping too much than from losses; the Founder had almost prohibited the admission of plays, etc., from which, "even if some little profit might be reaped (which God knows is very little), the benefit thereof will nothing countervail the harm then the scandal will bring upon the Library, when it shall be given out that we stuffed it full of baggage books." Now, however, everything is kept, though, of course, works of fiction are not issued to readers except under very special circumstances and for purposes of study.

Beside its books the Bodleian has many other possessions; some of the more interesting of its many pictures are mentioned below, but its fine collection of coins has been moved to the Ashmolean. It has, too, a number of interesting architectural models, and though many of its curiosities have gone to the Ashmolean, yet

many remain, notably the chair made from the wood of the *Golden Hind*, in which Drake sailed round the world. In fact, in the seventeenth century, it received the quaintest presents, *e.g.*, a Tartar cloak, which was oddly enough called "Joseph's coat," because of its many colours, and the body of a dried negro boy. Some of these have gone to the Science Museum.

The treasures of the Bodleian are endless; it has well fulfilled the praise bestowed on its youth by King James that it is the garden where the "fruits of talent and ability" grow and are gathered.*

* The portraits of college founders may be neglected, as they are mere copies. The following pictures may be noticed (they are arranged in order, following the left wall of the gallery on entering, and returning along the opposite wall):—Dr John Radcliffe (Sir G. Kneller); Mary Queen of Scots (three pictures; one of these,[1] now called "Unknown Lady," represents Mary just before her death); Dean Stanley (Watts); Flora Macdonald (A. Ramsay); Duns Scotus (not authentic); Lord Burleigh riding on an ass (Eworth); Camden the antiquary (Geerarts); Wallis the mathematician (Kneller's finest work given to Oxford by the immortal Samuel Pepys); H. Grotius; Earl of Leicester (Oliver). There is a fine full-length statue of the Earl of Pembroke, who, as Chancellor, assisted in the building of the gallery, and interesting busts of Rev. F. W. Roberston, Mr Gladstone, and Dr Jowett of Balliol. One of Herkomer's best portraits is that of Bishop Stubbs, in the reading-room; and the full lengths of Archbishop Potter by Hudson, and of Sir Hans Sloane by Richardson, are examples of really fine work done by painters who were usually commonplace and heavy.

[1] Its authenticity unfortunately is disputed.

XXVI

UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS

AS the Bodleian is the oldest public library in Europe, so the old University museum may claim to be the first public collection of curiosities in England. It was presented to Oxford in 1682 by Elias Ashmole, "the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England," and filled twelve carts when sent down from London; but he himself had inherited the nucleus of it from the Tradescants, whose "ark," as it was called, had been a popular show in London under Charles I. In its original form it had consisted largely of objects of natural history, to which Ashmole had added pictures, coins, etc. He had stipulated that the University should provide it with a proper home, and the Ashmolean building was erected for it; the fine upper room was the place of show, while in the lower room and in the basement the professors of philosophy and of chemistry had lecture rooms, and the latter even a residence.

Unfortunately the endowment was very small, and the collection was neglected till the last

century, when it was put in order by "good John Duncan," of New College, and his brother, and by J. H. Parker; it has been especially extended under the late curator, Mr A. J. Evans (*Richmond), the learned and fortunate explorer of Crete.

Meantime the University had received many other benefactions, including various scientific collections, and the Arundel (1677) and the Pomfret marbles (1755). In 1845 were begun the University galleries, opposite the Randolph Hotel; these were combined with the Taylor Institution for modern languages, in one imposing building, which was designed by Cockerell; it is interesting, if for no other reason, as being the last effort of classical architecture in Oxford.

Soon after this the new museum in the parks was added; it was opened in 1860 for the third visit of the British Association. In its style the influence of Mr Ruskin is very marked, though it can hardly be said that the effort to combine a Venetian palace with a "Crystal palace" has been very successful, either from the point of view of art or of scientific usefulness.[1] To this museum were transferred the natural curiosities of the Ashmolean, while the rest of the latter's treasures went (1894) to the new galleries erected at the back of the Randolph galleries. The Ashmolean building[2] itself is now to be handed over to the overflow of the Bodleian, but

[1] By a happy idea the 125 shafts of the great court are specimens of various British rocks.

[2] The Geography School [1899], formerly housed here, is now in Mansfield Road.

Broad Street

at present its ground floor is given up to the compiling of the great Oxford Dictionary.

Hence the University collections are now to be found in two buildings; the natural science ones are in their place close to the various laboratories at the museum in the parks; the pictures and works of art are in the new Ashmolean in Beaumont Street. To give a detailed account of either would be at once impossible and useless; for the specialist will know where to seek what he wishes, and the general public will hardly come to Oxford to see what can be seen so much better elsewhere; but a few of the main features of interest in the Art Museum may be briefly mentioned.[1]

The pictures and antiquities occupy the upper floor, which is reached by the staircase on the right. Of historical curiosities probably the most interesting is King Alfred's jewel, a fine specimen of Saxon work in gold and enamel, found in the Isle of Athelney. Guy Fawkes' lantern is a relic of undoubted authenticity, but the sword given to Henry VIII. as "Defender of the Faith" has had its genuineness attacked. The most important parts, however, of the collection to the student are the recently acquired Minoan, Egyptian and "Hittite" relics, espe-

[1] Special mention must, however, be made of the great anthropological collection of General Pitt Rivers, given by him to the University in 1883. It occupies a building specially erected for it (1885-6) at the N.E. corner of the Science Museum, from the court of which it is entered. It is equally interesting to the student of history and of science.

cially Mr Flinders Petrie's discoveries at Tell el-Amarna. In the adjoining room is Mr Fortnum's magnificent gift of majolica and sculpture, which is especially rich in examples of Italian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Full descriptions of the majolica were given by him (1897) in the splendid catalogues published by the Clarendon Press. This room is entered on the west side from the picture gallery, which contains rather more than one hundred pictures. The most important part of the collection is the recent Combe bequest of pre-Raphaelite pictures, including works of Millais, Collins, and Holman Hunt; the last-named artist can probably be nowhere else studied in so many examples together; of these "The Feast of St Swithun" is especially charming. The other pictures are more miscellaneous—two of the works of Reynolds, Mrs Meyrick and the Paines, are unusually fine. And of the Italian pictures, the two works of Fra Filippo Lippi, "The Meeting of Joachim and Anna," and "The Flight of the Vestal Virgins," and the curious works by Gentile Bellini are well worth the notice of the student of art. But even more important is the collection of drawings by Raphael and Michael Angelo, which the University purchased in the middle of the 19th century. In connection with the galleries is the Ruskin Art School, to which as Slade Professor he presented many beautiful things, especially a large number of Turner water-colours. This is on the ground floor of

the building, which is mainly occupied by the collection of casts (most of these have been gathered by the late Professor of Archæology, Dr Percy Gardner), and also by the Arundel and the Pomfret marbles. After a long period of shameful neglect these are at last properly housed. The basement is given up to the Chantrey casts, which have considerable historical interest as a collection of portraits, but which are not artistically important. It must be confessed that they present a very quaint and somewhat woebegone look in their present quarters. In the basement also are the inscriptions, among which, in the corridor opposite the entrance, is the famous Parian marble, one of the main authorities for Greek chronology. It is now almost illegible.

The art galleries are the centre of the work of the rapidly developing school of classical archæology; this is an integral part of the work of the University, and the collections to illustrate it cannot be made too complete. The mediæval pictures, drawings, pottery and art work generally, are interesting; but it is difficult to see how they can be used equally in the studies of the University.[1] The Oriental Museum and Library, however, which finds a home at the Indian Institute (a somewhat

[1] The University also possesses, at the New Examination Schools (Jackson), in the High Street, an interesting, but little known collection of portraits of English composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are more than fifty pictures, which once hung in the Music School; the best, Reynolds' "Dr Burney," is now in the Ashmolean.

heavy building, designed by Mr Champneys, at the E. end of the Broad Street), is the centre of the work of the Indian Civil Service students, of whom a large proportion are trained in Oxford.

Note I.—Since the publication of the first edition of this book (June 1897), the Ashmolean pictures have been properly restored. They hang on the staircase, and in the first room. The most interesting are the portraits of the Tradescant family (p. 313): one of these, that of the younger Tradescant, may be by William Dobson, "the English Tintoret," as Charles I. called him, the rest by Oliver de Crats. There is too an excellent portrait of Ashmole (Riley). The curious contemporary picture of the Battle of Pavia should be noticed. In the next room is a splendid collection of finger rings, given by the late Mr Fortnum, and in the Eldon room a fine wax model by Pierino, of Ugolino and his children. This was presented as long ago as 1841, but its value has only recently been recognized. The Westwood collection of fictile ivories too is very fine, and also the bust of Sir C. Wren as a young man (Pearce).

Note II.—The new building to the S.W. of the Science Museum is the Library given by the Drapers Company to the University; the architect is Sir T. G. Jackson. It was formally opened in 1901. Among recent benefactions to the Museum, perhaps the most generally interesting is the fine collection of precious stones, presented by Mr Streeter to the department of Mineralogy.

Few collections are so fortunate in their guide-books as those of Oxford. The Jubilee of the Science Museum (1908) was commemorated by an admirable little history (Vernon); while the official guide to the Ashmolean (2/6, 1920) is at once practically useful and full of specialist learning.

XXVII

THE WOMEN'S COLLEGES

THE year 1920 saw a momentous change in the University of Oxford; women were admitted to full membership; all degrees were thrown open to them, and graduate women were given the right of taking part in the teaching and the administrative work of the University. This result was achieved almost without a struggle; it has been the great feature of the development of Women's Education in Oxford that it has come about without any bitterness of conflict: neither those who advocated it nor those who opposed it have gone to the extremes which have unfortunately marked the struggle elsewhere.

The story of the introduction of Women to Oxford hardly comes into the sphere of a "guide" book;[1] suffice it to say here that Oxford

[1] The story has yet to be written adequately Probably the best account of the movement is to be found in "Somerville College" (by Miss Byrne and Mrs Mansfield, Oxford University Press, 1922), though this naturally is written from the point of view of a single institution.

Some information with many charming, personal touches can be gathered from "Glimpses of the Past"

set up special examinations for women in 1877 (these lasted till 1904), that an organisation for their education in Oxford was formed in 1878 (it was dissolved in 1920 when they became members of the University), that two Women's Colleges were opened in 1879, that women students were admitted to university lectures in 1880, and that in 1884 the really decisive step was taken of opening to them most of the Honours Examinations (this was carried by 464 to 321). The logical result of this was the admission to degrees, but this final change, though proposed and seriously debated in 1895, was, as has been said, only brought about finally in 1920. There are now (in 1923) over 700 women students in Oxford, and the University, for good or for ill, is a "mixed" one.

It is obvious that during so short a time the Women's Colleges have not had the opportunity of making history at Oxford; and also, as fortunately most of their "alumnæ" are still living, it is difficult, and may well seem invidious, to mention the names of individuals. Hence the account of these colleges must be mainly an account of the buildings which have been erected for their use. So far no Women's College at Oxford has owed everything to the bounty of one "sole and munificent founder" (or foundress): the buildings, the endowments (so far as they exist) have been largely the

(Mowbray, 1912), a book of personal reminiscences by Miss Wordsworth, first Principal of Lady Margaret Hall.

result of the generosity and the hard work of many, mainly Oxford teachers or students. Hence, as the University is not a place of great fortunes, the two first institutions, Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville, were set up by committees. From the very beginning they agreed amicably to differ; Lady Margaret was to be carried on according to the principles of the Church of England, Somerville was undenominational. Prominent among the founders of the former were Dr Talbot, then Warden of Keble, afterward Bishop of Winchester,[1] and Canon Scott Holland, while Dr Percival, afterward Bishop of Hereford, and Professor T. H. Green[2] were among the promoters of Somerville. The names chosen were characteristic; "Lady Margaret" recalled the pious mother of Henry VII, the foundress of the first university professorships, and of two of the Cambridge Colleges, while Somerville bore the name of the famous mathematician, Mrs Mary Somerville (d. 1872, * portrait by Jackson), who already in the 19th century had proved that women could take their part in scientific advance.

Seven years later (in 1886) Miss Wordsworth (* Shannon), the first Principal of Lady Margaret, a member of a family in which genius

[1] The Portrait in the Hall of L.M.H. is a copy by Mrs Lea Merritt of that by G. Richmond, which is in the Hall of Keble. A star (*) throughout this chapter indicates (unless otherwise stated) that the picture is in the Hall of the College spoken of.

[2] He died early in 1882, but Mrs Green (* Hugh Rivière) has been on the Council since 1884.

was hereditary in the 19th century, founded St Hugh's College, which, originally a close neighbour of Lady Margaret Hall, now has moved to a site further N. on the Banbury Rd. In 1893 Miss Dorothea Beale, the famous Lady Principal of Cheltenham College, one of the pioneers in Women's Secondary Education, founded St Hilda's, which was to stand to her College at Cheltenham to some extent in the same relation as New College to Winchester. All these colleges are now flourishing, though it cannot be said their developments have always been on the lines of their original foundation.

In the government of them all great changes have been introduced; like Keble, but unlike the other men's colleges, they are governed by Councils, but these are no longer wholly co-optative; a considerable number of their members are elected by the Associations, of which all qualified old students can be members. Somerville has the special feature that it has on its council as "Fellows" members of its resident staff.

To speak now of the colleges singly. Lady Margaret Hall, which is senior by a few days to Somerville, had nine students at its opening (there are now about one hundred). It was most fortunate in its choice of site, for, lying as it does on the far side of the University Park, with its grounds running down to the Cherwell, it realises best the ideal of the "embowered nest" of Tennyson's Princess. The original house was a mid-Victorian detached villa of white brick and quite unusual ugliness, on to

which was soon built (by Champneys) a red block; the somewhat incongruous conjunction at once suggested the original nickname of "the Red, White and Blue." Lady Margaret has been more fortunate in its later developments, for Sir Reginald Blomfield's Georgian building (finished partly in 1896, partly in 1910) has a fine front on the side where it faces the Cherwell.

In the Hall are portraits, besides those already referred to, of Mrs Arnold Toynbee (Mrs Lea Merritt), House Treasurer for nearly thirty years, and of the second Principal, Miss Jex Blake (* László).

It has been Lady Margaret's good fortune to be a nursing mother of the heads of other Women's Colleges; at least three of her old students fill such posts, at St Hugh's and St Hilda's in Oxford, and at Westfield in London. Perhaps mention may be made too of Miss Lothian Bell, and Mrs Aitken (Miss Friere Marreco), who have shown that English women, as well as English men, have the power of understanding and winning the confidence of primitive races, and of Miss Maude Royden, most eloquent of women preachers.

Somerville, so far as site was concerned, was more fortunate than Lady Margaret in one respect, in nearness to university activities; five minutes' walk brings its students to the centre of Oxford. Though this is somewhat dearly purchased by the cramped nature of the site, shut in between the Radcliffe Infirmary and the towering bulk of St Aloysius' Church.

But the grounds have been most successfully developed. The original Hall, where twelve students met in 1879 (there are now in 1923 141), was far more picturesque than the Lady Margaret villa, and it was soon (in 1881) expanded from Sir Thomas Jackson's design. Four years later a successful but unpretentious new block was added, on the front opposite the University Press; the architect was H. W. Moore. This was united to the old building in 1904 by Mr Basil Champneys. His library, called the Pfeiffer Library, in honour of a benefactress, is a triumph over a most difficult problem—viz. how to unite two blocks one hundred yards apart, and of quite different styles, by a building that should be at once beautiful and serviceable. This problem he has certainly solved; his Library is attractive without and convenient within, and joins incongruous parts in one effective whole. It was opened in 1904 in true Oxford style with the performance of the masque of "Demeter," written especially for the occasion by the Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges.

The Library has received more than one interesting gift of books; Miss Helen Taylor, niece of John Stuart Mill, presented the library of her uncle, some 2000 volumes, in 1905, and in 1907 came the books of Miss A. Betham Edwards, Egyptologist and novelist.

Since the completion of the Library two large new blocks of buildings have been added on the south of the original Hall; these were

finished in 1913 from the designs of Mr Edmund Fisher, whose death in the war was a loss to English architecture. They contain the new Dining Hall, the largest in the Oxford Women's Colleges, and a considerable number of students' rooms. In the Hall, in addition to the portraits already referred to, there are portraits of Miss Shaw Lefevre (*Jacomb Hood) the first Principal, and of the present Principal, Miss Penrose (*F. Helps).

Her name naturally heads the list of the distinguished alumnæ of her college. She was the first woman to get a first in "Greats," she was Principal of Holloway before she returned to her own College, and as a member of the University Commissions for Wales and for Oxford (1920-1922) she has indeed helped to make academic history. Of those who have gone out into the world from Somerville to play a prominent part, may be mentioned Miss E. Rathbone and Lady Rhondda, well known for their social work, Miss S. M. Fry, whose name has been so prominent in the Friends' Relief Work, Miss C. Sorabji, perhaps the most prominent of Indian woman students, and Miss Rose Macaulay, the novelist.

Somerville, it may be added, has been fortunate in having two Research Fellowships, one endowed, one maintained by subscriptions, among the holders of which (they need not be Somerville students before election) may be mentioned the present Principal of Girton, Miss Phillpotts.

St Hugh's College began, like her elder

sisters, in a private house, but it has been fortunate above all the other colleges in being able, largely owing to the bequest of Miss C. E. Mordan (* H. T. Wells in the Library) to make an entirely new start; the buildings, from the design of Mr Buckland, finished in 1916, have a completeness which is impossible to colleges which have been built by degrees. The Chapel, Library, Hall and Common Rooms are admirable, and the garden, with its rustic terrace at the back of the Hall, thanks largely to the care of the garden mistress, Miss Rogers, to whom Women's Education owes so much, deserves to rank among the best college gardens in Oxford.

Miss Jourdain (* H. Levistraus), the Principal, has been one of the first women teachers chosen to give university lectures, and is well known as an authority on French Literature: she succeeded the first Principal, Miss Moberly (* W. Llewelyn) in 1915.

St Hugh's, though third in age of the Women's Colleges, is now one of the largest in numbers with 150 students.

St Hilda's College has developed rapidly since its foundation. If it has not had the good fortune of St Hugh's in being built all at once, it was able by a fortunate chance to purchase the Training College, which the Society for Church Education was giving up, and thus to secure a position almost in the centre of Oxford (it lies just on the other side of Magdalen Bridge), commanding a view of Oxford's most

beautiful college on its most beautiful side. This has enabled it to develop rapidly of recent years. It has given a Principal in Miss Burrows to the non-Collegiate Women in Oxford,[1] and a distinguished novelist to English literature in Miss Broster.

To decide among the Women's Colleges for the first place in beauty is as invidious and as dangerous as the Judgment of Paris. Suffice it to say that Lady Margaret is happiest in its site and in its living rooms for its students, that Somerville has the best individual building in its Library, that St Hugh's has all the advantages of unity of plan, and that St Hilda's combines, in its position, convenience and beauty to a degree the others cannot rival.

[1] Technically the Society of Oxford Home Students; their headquarters are in Holywell House, Jowett Walk, known to all English lovers of music as the home, built by himself, of the late Dr Mee.

APPENDIX I

Architecture in Oxford

I *Saxon Work*—
Probably part of the E. wall of the Cathedral (p. 20), and possibly other parts of the Cathedral.

II. *Norman* (*a*) *Early*—
Castle Tower, p. 5.
Tower of St Michael's, p. 5.
Door of Chapter House, p. 20.
(*b*) *Late*—
Most of the Cathedral, pp. 20-21

III. *Early English*—
Church of St Giles, p. 10.
Spire, Chapter House, and Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, p. 21.

IV. *Decorated*—
Merton Chapel (1270-1300), p. 70-73.
Tower and Spire of St Mary's (circ. 1290), p. 31.
Latin Chapel at Cathedral (circ. 1350), p. 22.

V. *Perpendicular—Early*—
New College—Chapel, Hall, Cloisters and Front Quad (1386-1400), p. 113.
Middle—
Lincoln College—Front Quad and Hall, p. 130.
Merton—Transepts (1424), Tower (1450), p. 73.
Divinity School (1489), p. 15.

V *Perpendicular—continued.*

Late—

Magdalen College—Founder's Quad, Chapel and Tower, p. 155 *seq.*

St Mary's—Choir (begun 1462) and Nave (1498), p. 32.

Christ Church—Hall and Tom Quad, p. 201-2.

VI. *Late Gothic—*

Wadham College, 1610-1613, p. 257.

Merton College—Fellows' Quad (1608-1610), pp 74-5.

University College—First Quad (begun 1634), p. 46.

Christ Church—Hall, Staircase (1640), p. 205

(The last building in this style is the chapel at B. N. C., 1656, p. 177.)

VII. *Italian—*

Sheldonian Theatre, p. 37, and Clarendon Building, p. 219.

Queen's College—Front Quad (begun 1710), p. 105.

Christ Church—Peckwater Quad, p. 207.

All Saints Church, p. 220.

Radcliffe Library, p. 300.

Neo-Greek—

Clarendon Press, p. 219, Ashmolean Museum, p. 314.

VIII. *Gothic Revival, Early—*

Front of Jesus College, p. 252.

Magdalen College School, p 161

Sir Gilbert Scott—

Exeter Chapel (1856), p. 85.

New College—Holywell Front (1872-6), p. 114.

N.B.—For the work of more recent architects, *vide* Index, *sub* Bodley, Butterfield, Champneys, Jackson.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX II

Stained Glass in Oxford

13th Century—Merton Chapel, p. 70.
14th Century—Latin Chapel at Cathedral, p. 22.
New College Ante-Chapel, p. 113.
15th Century—All Souls Ante-Chapel, p. 141.
16th Century—Balliol Chapel, p. 59
Queen's Chapel, p. 105.
17th Century—Wadham Chapel, p. 257.
Magdalen Ante-Chapel, p. 156.
Lincoln Chapel, p. 133.
University Chapel, 49.
Queen's Chapel, p. 105.
New College Chapel, S. side, p. 114.
18th Century—New College Chapel, N. side, p. 114.
and great West Window, p. 113.
19th Century—*Vide* Index, *sub* Burne-Jones, Clayton and Bell, Kempe, Powell.

(For the old glass in Oxford, see Mr Grinling's excellent paper in the Transactions of the Oxford Historical and Architectural Society, 1883, a paper which ought to be reprinted.)

APPENDIX III

Admission to Places of Interest

I. The following are open *Free*—
The Cathedral, 11-1, 2-30—4-30.
University Museum, 2-4.
Indian Institute, 10-1, 2-4 (2-6 in Summer Term).
Also the *Chapels* of—
Merton (11-5), Exeter (1-4 in Term Time).
New College (11-1, 2-4), All Souls (12-1, 2-4).
Magdalen (11—12-30), Keble (10-12, 2-4).
Also the *Gardens* of—
New College, Trinity, St John's, Wadham

(except on Sundays) and Worcester. The Magdalen Water Walks, and the University Botanic Garden.

II. The following are open *Free* to *small* parties, accompanied by members of University in Academical dress (on week days)—

The Bodleian, 10-3, 4, or 5.[1]

The Camera Bodleiana, 10-10.

The Ashmolean Museum and Picture Galleries, and the New (*i.e.* Science) Museum, 10-4.[2]

III. All Halls snd Chapels can be seen on application to the Porter. The fee is sometimes fixed, *e.g.* at Christ Church Hall,[3] 2d. a person, but more often is optional; 6d. for a party of two or three is sufficient in ordinary cases. Halls are usually occupied for lectures in the mornings of Term.

[1] The Library is open to 3 (Nov.-Jan.), to 5 (April-July), to 4 the other months.

[2] These galleries are also open to the public on Thursdays and Saturdays, 2-4 *free*, and on any other day between 10 and 4 on payment of 6d. per person. Science Museum 3d. after 2 p.m. The galleries are also open on Sunday afternoons free *in term time* (2-4).

[3] During the Vacations the only ingress and egress at Christ Church is by the great gate in St Aldate's (under Tom Tower); the Canterbury gate, however, is open on Sundays for those attending service at the Cathedral.

APPENDIX IV

Excursions from Oxford

[The distances in this Appendix are mainly taken from "The Roads round Oxford" (Alden & Co., 82 pp., 1s. 6d.), a booklet invaluable to cyclists. The same firm publishes "Near Oxford" (Rev. H. T. Inman, 1s.), a most useful little guide, well illustrated.]

To the N.

To *Banbury* (22½ miles by G.W.R.; frequent trains) 22 miles: the churches of *Kidlington* (5), *Deddington* (16), and *Adderbury* (20), are interesting. The last with the neighbouring churches of *Bloxham* and *King's Sutton* (2 miles W. and E. respectively) form a famous group. At *Banbury* the church is a curious example of Italian style; there are also some interesting houses, and the well-known "Cross" (modern). In the immediate neighbourhood of *Banbury* lie *Broughton Castle* (2½ miles S.W.) —one of the finest mediæval castles in England still inhabited—and *Wroxton Abbey* (2 miles from *Broughton* and 3 from *Banbury*), a beautiful Jacobean house; both have good pictures, especially *Wroxton*. (They are open to the public, *Broughton* on Wednesdays from 3 to 6, *Wroxton* by special permission, on application by letter to the agent at the Estate Office.) 8½ miles N.W. of *Banbury* lies *Edgehill*, the field of the famous battle (1642), and commanding magnificent view.

To the N.W.

To *Woodstock* (7½ miles; also by branch line).

The town is comparatively uninteresting, but *Blenheim Palace* is one of Vanbrugh's finest works (good portraits), and the park and gardens are splendid (open on Tuesday and Friday afternoons [12 to 3; gardens open to 4] during the summer) Continuing the road past the park (in which bicycles are not allowed), *Great*

Tew, a very pretty village, famous for its memories of Lord Falkland, is reached in 10 minutes; from here it is 9 miles to *Banbury* (*vid. sup.*), and 6 to *Chipping-Norton*. *Chipping-Norton* lies 19 miles by road N.W. of *Oxford*, 25½ miles by G.W.R. Worcester line. The line passes part of the old forest of *Wychwood* near *Charlbury Station* (9 miles by road from *Witney*), and *Shipton* (junction for *Burford*, see below) with fine church and manor house. At *Chipping-Norton* itself is a fine church, while 2 miles to N. of town are the *Rollwright Stones* (Druidical).

To the W.

The local line runs through *Witney* (fine church) to *Fairford* in Gloucestershire (27 miles by road from *Oxford*); magnificent stained glass. *S. Leigh*, a village church with many 15th century frescoes, is close to the line before reaching *Witney*. The road excursions are interesting, especially that through *Witney* (11 miles) to *Burford* (19) with fine church, ruined priory (now restored, home of Speaker Lenthall), and most picturesque houses; tradition says that "one new house has been built in *Burford* in the last 200 years." To the N. of road (1½ miles) lie *Minster-Lovel* (fine ruined manor house and monument of Lords Lovel in church) and *Swinbrook* (interesting monuments in church).

To the S.W.

4 miles from *Oxford*, *Cumnor* (famous in Scott's "Kenilworth"): 5 miles on, *Stanton Harcourt* (fine manor house and church). The high ground between *Cumnor* and the road to *Abingdon* is the most interesting piece of country near *Oxford*; it has been rendered famous by M. Arnold's "Thyrsis" and "Scholar Gipsy." The country S. to *Faringdon* is pretty, and the roads good. *Faringdon* is 17 miles from *Oxford* (church good). The road to *Wantage* (15 miles from *Oxford*) diverges about 5½

miles from *Oxford*; at *Wantage* there is a famous church, and a statue to King Alfred, who was born there. 5 miles beyond *Wantage* to the W. is the White Horse Hill; the train for return can be taken at *Uffington*.

To the S.

6 miles from *Oxford* is *Abingdon*, a very pretty little town; interesting churches. In municipal buildings two very fine Gainsborough portraits. (The road from *Oxford* to *Abingdon* runs through the famous *Bagley Wood*, now closed to public.) 2 miles N.E. of *Abingdon*, *Radley* with its fine school buildings; 6½ miles to S.E. of *Abingdon*, *Dorchester* (very fine church), from which road reaches *Oxford* in 9 miles through very pretty village of *Nuneham*. 4 miles beyond *Dorchester*, *Ewelme*, with interesting church, almshouses, and school; connected with Chaucer family and Dukes of Suffolk.

To the E.

The least interesting side of *Oxford*. 4½ miles to S.E., *Garsington*, pretty village with fine view; return either S. by the two *Baldons* (picturesque) and *Nuneham* (*vid. sup.*), or through *Cuddesdon* (1½ miles N.E.) with Bishop's palace, and *Wheatley* (6 miles from *Oxford*). Beyond *Garsington* lies *Chalgrove* (death of Hampden, 1643) 10½ miles from *Oxford*. *Thame* (6½ miles beyond *Wheatley*; 12 miles from *Oxford* by road; 15 miles by G.W.R.), church very fine: good monuments; built by Grosseteste (about 1241). N. of road from *Oxford* to *Wheatley* lie *Elsfield* (3½ miles from *Oxford*) with fine view, and *Forest Hill* (6 miles from *Oxford*) with memories of Milton Still further N.E. is *Boarstall Castle* (9 miles from *Oxford*) and *Brill* (12 miles from *Oxford*), once a spa, with wonderful view. W. of *Brill*

lies the great plain of *Otmoor*; to the W. of this again *Islip* (birthplace of King Edward the Confessor), which can be reached best from *Oxford* by the N. road (6½ miles from *Oxford*). Pretty return from *Islip* to *Oxford* through *Woodeaton* and *Marston* (6½ miles).

OF THE ABOVE, THE BEST DAY-EXCURSIONS ARE—

1. Woodstock, Great Tew, and Rollwright (23 miles). Return by train from Chipping-Norton.
2. Banbury, Broughton, and Wroxton (28 miles). Return by train from Banbury.
3. Witney, Minster-Lovel, and Burford (19 miles). Return by train either from Shipton or from Bampton (each a long 4 miles from Burford).
4. Abingdon and Dorchester (20 miles).

RIVER EXCURSIONS FROM FOLLY BRIDGE

UP

Godstow (3 miles), with ruins of nunnery (legend of Fair Rosamund); 1 mile to W. pretty village of *Wytham*; *Eynsham* (7 miles).
Bablockhithe Ferry (11½ miles).
Lechlade (32 miles).

DOWN

Iffley, with very fine Norman church (1½ miles).
Nuneham (6 miles). Grounds open on Tuesdays and Thursdays during summer.
Abingdon Bridge (8 miles).
Wallingford (21½ miles).

(All the above distances are approximate.)

APPENDIX V

Arms of the University and the Colleges

The University.

Azure, between three open crowns or, a book open argent garnished or, on the dexter side seven labels gules with seven seals attached or; on the book the words Dominus illuminatio mea.

The oldest example of the arms of the University (dating between 1412 and 1417) is in the old library at Balliol (tenth window on N. side); the earliest examples in stone are those carved on the plinth of the buttresses of the Divinity School, which date about 1450. Slightly later are those on the roof of the school.

The arms without the book are those of St Edmund, the royal saint and martyr; Richard II. had granted these (about 1380) to his favourite, the Earl of Oxford. The book is the conventional charge for the arms of a university.

The three crowns are variously interpreted as referring to royal protection, to the Ever Blessed Trinity, and to the threefold sense of Holy Scripture (see Macray's "Bodleian," p. 17 n.). A more certain point is the reference in the "labels" and "seals" of the book, to the sealed book in the hands of "Him that sat on the throne" (Rev. v. 1).

The motto has varied from time to time. In 1574 the Vice-Chancellor, in a speech to Queen Elizabeth, refers to the three "symbola" of the University, "In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Deum," "Dominus illuminatio mea," "Bonitas regnabit, veritas liberabit." Between 1587 and 1623 the University used a fourth motto on its publications, "Sapientia et felicitate." The present motto (which is the opening words of Psalm xxvii.) is found on each panel of the roof of the Bodleian Library (opened 1602), and has been recognised as the University motto since about 1640.

The University claims the privilege, in right of the charters of Henry IV. and Henry VIII., of being exempt from the visitations of the Heralds' College, and such a visitation in 1634 was courteously but firmly repelled.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

Azure, a cross patonce between four or five martlets or.

These are the (supposed) Saxon royal arms; they seem to have been adopted by the college early in the fifteenth century, in place of the arms of the real founder, William of Durham, as part of its claim to have been founded by Alfred (*cf.* pp. 49-50).

BALLIOL.

Azure, a lion rampant argent, crowned or, langued and armed gules, impaling gules an orle argent.

The dexter half of the shield bears the arms of the foundress Dervorguilla, who, as daughter of the Lord of Galloway, was of royal blood (she was sixth in descent from Shakspere's Duncan), the sinister half those of her husband.

The arms may be represented as two locket-like shields, tied with a kind of ribbon; this arrangement belongs to continental heraldry, and, though permissible, has no authority in tradition.

MERTON.

Or, three chevronels per pale, the first azure and gules, the second gules and azure, the third azure and gules.

These are, with modifications, the arms of the great family of the De Clares, Earls of Gloucester, from whom, as his feudal superior, the founder obtained leave to bestow his manors of Malden and Farleigh on his college.

Sometimes, however, the Merton shield is *parted per pale*, and has on its *dexter* side the arms of Walter de Merton's see of Rochester, i.e., *Argent, on a saltire gules, an escallop or.*

EXETER.

Argent, two bendlets nebulé sable, within a bordure of the last charged with eight keys or, impaling gules, on a bend or between two escallops argent, a chough proper between two cinquefoils azure, on a chief of the second a rose between two demi-lilies attached to the sides of the shield.

The dexter half is the arms of Bishop Stapledon, the founder; it is probable that the keys are a pun on his name; such "canting" heraldry is common. For other instances *cf.* Queen's, Lincoln, Corpus, Pembroke, and Hertford. The sinister half bears the arms of the benefactor, Sir William Petre; a variation of these occurs in the arms of Wadham, founded by his daughter, Dorothy Wadham.

Sometimes, *e.g.* in the University Calendar, the sinister half, *i.e.* the Petre arms, is omitted altogether.

ORIEL.

The arms of England, "three libbards passant," within a bordure engrailed argent.

The arms come from the founder, Edward II.; they are differentiated by the bordure.

QUEEN'S.

Argent, three eagles displayed gules, bealed and membered or, that in dexter chief charged on the breast with a mullet of six points, pierced, of the third.

The arms are a pun on the name of the founder, Eglesfield; he provided in the statutes that "in no one respect shall the common seal which I have given be departed from."

NEW COLLEGE.

Argent, two chevronels sable between three roses gules, seeded or, barbed vert.

The arms of the founder, derived from his diocese of Winchester; the double chevron *may* commemorate his double foundation.

LINCOLN.

Tierced in pale, (1) *Barry of six argent and azure, in chief three lozenges gules, on the third bar a mullet pierced sable.* (2) *Or, an inescutcheon of the arms of the see of Lincoln timbred with a mitre proper* (3) *Vert, three stags trippant argent, attired or.*

The college arms are (1) those of the founder Fleming, (2) those of his see, (3) those of Archbishop Rotherham; the stags or roebucks are a pun on his name.

For similar "Tierced arms," *cf.* Brasenose and Corpus.

ALL SOULS.

Or, a chevron between three cinquefoils pierced gules.

The arms of the founder, Chicheley; they can be seen on his tomb at Canterbury.

MAGDALEN.

Lozengy ermine and sable, on a chief of the last three lilies argent, stalked and seeded or.

The founder's arms bear on the "chief" the lilies of Eton, of which college Waynflete was the first head-master.

BRASENOSE.

Tierced in pale (1) *Argent, a chevron sable between three roses gules, seeded or, barbed vert.* (2) *Or, an escutcheon of the arms of the see of Lincoln timbred with a mitre proper.* (3) *Quarterly:—one and four argent, a chevron between three hunting horns stringed sable: two and three argent, a chevron between three crosses flory sable.*

The dexter arms are those of Bishop William Smith, whose signet was a W between three roses; the sinister side is supposed to contain the arms of the co-founder, Sir Richard Sutton.

CORPUS CHRISTI.

Tierced in pale (1) *Azure a pelican or, vulning herself proper.* (2) *Argent, an escutcheon of the arms of the see of Winchester timbred with a mitre proper.* (3) *Sable a chevron or between three owls argent, on a chief of the second three roses gules, seeded or, barbed vert.*

The arms of Bishop Fox on the dexter half may also be seen on his work at Taunton, Durham, and Winchester. The "owls" of his friend Bishop Oldham, benefactor of the college, are a pun on his name.

CHRIST CHURCH.

Sable, on a cross engrailed argent, a lion passant gules armed and langued azure, between four leopards' faces azure langued gules; on a chief or a rose gules barbed vert, seeded or between two Cornish choughs proper.

The arms are those of Wolsey. The sable field and cross engrailed, and the azure leopards' faces show Suffolk, the county of his birth; they were part of the arms respectively of the Uffords and the de la Poles, Earls of Suffolk. The lion is the badge of Leo X., who made Wolsey a cardinal. The choughs refer to the (reputed) arms of St Thomas of Canterbury, Wolsey's name-saint. Wolsey had obtained for his college a much more elaborate coat, which can still be seen in the library.

TRINITY.

Per pale or and azure, a chevron charged with four fleur-de-lis between three griffins' heads, all counterchanged.

The arms are those of Sir T. Pope, which can be seen on his tomb in the Chapel. The griffin is to be distinguished from the double-headed dragon (the college crest), now in the ante-chapel, but once used as a lectern in Hall and familiarly called "the Mock Turtle."

ST JOHN'S.

Gules, a bordure sable charged with eight estoiles or, on a canton ermine a lion rampant sable, an annulet in chief or.

The arms are those of Sir Thomas White; the annulet is the mark of "cadency," *i.e.* it shows that he belonged to the younger branch of his family.

The "Lamb," sometimes used as a badge, is the symbol of St John, and the badge of the Merchant Taylors Company.

JESUS.

Azure, three stags trippant or.

These arms are curiously like those of Rotherham on the Lincoln shield (*q.v.*). How they came to the later college is a puzzle; they are supposed to be those of the founder, Hugh Ap-Rice, but are not the coat emblazoned in the margin of his will. Since the eighteenth century, the tincture has been vert (not the proper azure); perhaps the change is due to Welsh national patriotism.

WADHAM.

Gules, a chevron between three roses argent seeded or, barbed vert, impaling gules a bend or between two escallops argent.

The dexter half bears the arms of Nicholas Wadham, the sinister those of his widow, Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Petre (*vide* arms of Exeter College). She originally used the "chief" given to her father in augmentation by Henry VIII.; it is to be seen on her portrait (painted 1595); but she afterwards discarded it, perhaps because as a Roman Catholic she objected to the grant of a heretic king. The full arms, however, are on her tomb at Ilminster.

PEMBROKE.

Per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant argent, a chief per pale or and of the third, charged with a rose of England and a thistle of Scotland.

The arms are those of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (Shakespeare's friend), who was Chancellor at the time of the foundation of the college; James I., as the nominal founder, granted as an augmentation the "chief" with the badges of England and of Scotland. Perhaps the Scotch "thistle" has also a reference to the canting "teazle" in the arms of Thomas Tesdale, whose money went to found the new college.

WORCESTER.

Or, two chevronels gules between six martlets sable.

The college was originally Gloucester Hall, and the old arms of Gloucester were "or, three chevronels gules" (*cf.* the chevronels in the Merton arms).

HERTFORD.

Gules, a hart's head cabossed argent, attired or, in chief a cross patée fitched in the foot of the last.

The arms are modelled on the seal of Elias de Hertford, who had the first hall for students on this spot between 1283 and 1301.

KEBLE.

Argent, a chevron engrailed gules, on a chief azure three mullets pierced or.

The arms are those of John Keble.

ST EDMUND HALL.

Or, a cross flory gules between four martlets sable.

The martlets perhaps refer to the royal birth of the Saxon saint, St Edmund.

The *Non-Collegiate Students* have adopted the arms of the University, with the old motto, *Sapientia et Felicitate*; as a difference has been added a canton argent charged with a Catherine wheel gules. This last is a reference to the fact that the old N.E. Chapel of St Mary's (*cf.* p. 31) abutting on St Catherine's Street (properly Cat Street) was once used for religious services by the members of the Non-Collegiate body.

ARMS OF THE CITY.

Argent, an ox gules armed and unguled or, in base barry wavy of six azure and argent, the escutcheon encircled with a ribbon azure charged with four roses and four fleur-de-lis or. The motto is Fortis est veritas.

From the earliest times the canting heraldry of the ox and the ford has been used; down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, the University employed it as well as the city.

[The standard book on the arms of the colleges is still Shaw's fine quarto, published in 1855, where they are properly emblazoned. It contains interesting notes on the history of the colleges by the Rev. J. W. Burgon (afterwards Dean of Chichester). Most of the statements in this Appendix and the technical descriptions of the arms of the colleges are taken from two valuable papers by Mr P. Landon, which appeared in the *Archæologia Oxoniensis*, Nov. 1893 and June 1894. To him I wish to express my grateful obligation.

Sheets and cards containing the arms in colours can be purchased at most booksellers in Oxford, but the colours cannot always be relied on as correct.]

N. B.—I have not attempted to explain the technical terms in the descriptions of the arms; but it may be worth while to note that the dexter (*i.e.* right) half of the shield is, as looked at, on the left.

I have to thank Mr Goldie of Christ Church for two interesting suggestions:—

(1) The keys in the Exeter bordure may not be "canting," but may indicate the fact that the founder was a bishop.

(2) The arms of Worcester are identical with those of the founder, Cookes. His family may possibly have derived them from the De Clares, in which case the origin suggested above is still indirectly true.

APPENDIX VI

War Memorials

Since the publication of the last edition, Oxford, like other cities, has commemorated her losses in the War.

Special mention may be made of the cross erected by the City at the north end of St Giles', from the design of three local architects, Messrs Gardner, Rayson, and Thorpe: it is at once beautiful in its simplicity and very well placed.

It is impossible to describe the College Memorials, but it may be useful to indicate where they are to be found.

They have been placed—

In the Ante-chapel at University, Exeter, New College, All Souls, Jesus, Pembroke.

In the approach to the Chapel at Balliol, Christ Church, and Keble, and in the Chapel itself at Brasenose and Hertford.

In the Cloisters at Queen's (probably the most successful, from the design of Sir Reginald Blomfield), Magdalen, St John's, Wadham, and Worcester.

In the Junior Common Room at Lincoln, and outside the Junior Common Room at Oriel.

In the passage between the quads at Merton

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O = Oxford ; P = Portrait.

N.B.—When a man belonged to more than one College, I have tried always to put first the reference to the one in which he was an undergraduate.

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